



SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE NOBILITY UNDER THE DELHI SULTANS

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Doctor of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

BY

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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis "*Socio-Cultural Life of the Nobility under the Delhi Sultans*" by **Ms. Fazeela Shahnawaz** is the original research work of the candidate and is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History.


(Dr. S. Jabir Raza)
Supervisor

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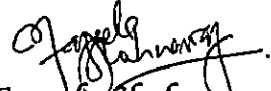
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(Fazeela Shahinawaz)



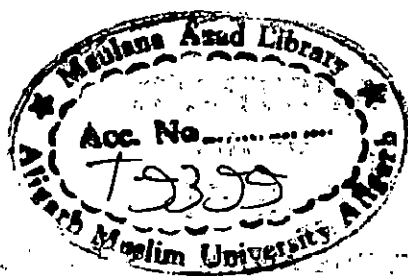
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In recent past historians have been increasingly attracted to the study of the Sultanate nobility. Serious and sustained efforts have been made by S. B. P. Nigam, Irfan Habib, M. Athar Ali, I. H. Siddiqui and others to explain the origin and evolution of the nobility, their class and clans, their social composition, and above all, nobility as a political and administrative institution. The historians thus would have us to believe that the history of the Sultanate period was the history of the achievements and failures of the Turkish nobility because during this period many Sultans were themselves nobles. It has been further suggested that under the Delhi Sultans, the social composition of the nobility underwent a significant transformation as a result of the inclusion of autochthonous social groups and socially inferior individuals in the ruling class. Thus, the socio-cultural aspects of the Sultanate nobility have been ignored and not received adequate attention. However, in present thesis entitled **Socio-Cultural Life of the Nobility under the Delhi Sultans** an effort has been made to fulfill this gap in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. However, the present thesis is divided into eight chapters highlighting the different aspects of the nobles of the Delhi Sultanate:

Chapter I: Extant and Sources of Income:

It sheds light on the salaries and assignments of the nobles. Besides high salaries they were given lucrative assignments in the form of *iqtas*. Another source of their accumulated wealth was expensive gifts, bribe and corruption. They accumulated huge treasure and spent extravagantly on luxuries and even provided charity to the needy people. Because of pomp and show they sometimes took loans from the wealthy merchants of Delhi and were living continuously under debt. Thus, the present study shows that besides the high amount they received in salaries, the nobles were assigned lands and received a lot of wealth from gifts and rewards. Some of them also amassed wealth through bribe and corruption. However, the nobles were rich and prosperous and had hoards of wealth.

Chapter II: Etiquettes and Norms of Comportments:

Sources refer to the royal courts and participation of the nobles in the court rituals. The sources even discuss the courts held by the provincial governors, processions of the Sultans and of the nobles, court ceremonies, noble's *harem* and

their attitude towards Sultans, their colleagues, other nobles, slaves as well as common people. Investigation suggests that there were certain prescribed manners and etiquettes performed by the nobles at the royal court and at the courts held by themselves in their respective provinces. The most popular prescribed norms and etiquettes, based on Sassanid court were *sijda*, *khakbos*, *paibos* and *dastbos*. They were expected to perform certain etiquettes at the time of meeting the Sultan or with other nobles or at the time of receiving a royal gift or a royal *farman* and also at the dining carpet. The chapter also analysed the noble's behaviour with the Sultans and also with other nobles, officials, troops and with their subjects and often with the common people.

Chapter III: Feast, Festivals and Ceremonies:

This chapter highlights the celebration of feasts and banquets at a larger scale on different occasions. They celebrated festivals and commemorate other social functions and spent much amount on these occasions. These occasions were celebrated in great enthusiasm. Nobles not only attended the royal feasts but also invited other nobles and officials at their palaces for feasts. Thus, large kitchens were seems to be maintained by the nobles and they spent huge sums on feasts, festivals and other ceremonies. Evidences show that the celebration and commemoration of several ceremonies such as: *Ramzan*, *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Id-al-Qurban*, *Shab-i-Barat*, *Muharram*, *Ashura*, *Nauroz*, birth and death anniversaries of Prophet of Islam etc. They used to distribute food on these occasions. The participation of musicians, singers as well as lavish decoration and awards added the elegance in these festivities. Besides festivals, marriage ceremonies held important place in the socio-cultural life of the nobles under the Delhi Sultans. These events were celebrated with great gaiety and were sometimes sources of fun and entertainment for the ruling classes.

Chapter IV: Games and Entertainment:

The nobles considered games and music as the source of entertainment and recreation to relieve themselves from the stress of political and administrative engagements. The Indian game chess, *chaugan* (polo) and hunting were popular during Sultanate period. Thus, both indoor and outdoor games were enjoyed by them, hunting being the most popular one. Barani, Amir Khusrau, Afif, Ibn Battuta

and Mushtaqi emphasis on hunting show that it was the primary game. The nobles followed Sultans in their hunting excursions with all their necessary requirements.

Music was another source for entertainment of the Sultanate nobility. Musical instruments such as drums, reed pipes, flutes, trumpets and haut boys were among the *maratibs* of the high ranked nobles. Musicians and singers with musical instruments, *duff*, *nai*, *chang* and *rabab*, participated in marriage ceremony and even followed the nobles in their journeys. Both male and female musicians and singers were patronized by the nobles. In this regard Ibn Battuta's travel account is of much significance. The compilation of the works on Indian music, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya* by anonymous author and *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* by Yahya Qabuli are worth mentioning. Despite restriction on music in the light of *sharia*, the nobles used it as a source of amusement. Convivial and drinking parties, garden parties, *qawwali* and story-tellers, dancers, jesters acrobats, jugglers and other entertainers seems to be the sources of recreation for the nobility.

For their entertainment, convivial and drinking parties, garden party, *sama* and *qawwali* parties were organized. Besides, they patronized story-tellers, jesters, acrobats and jugglers. They enjoyed music, dance and patronized musicians and singers.

Chapter V: Household and Domestic Life:

Nobles lived very luxurious life, thus the chapter highlights the living condition and domestic life of the nobles focusing on the houses, varieties of dresses, food and dishes and further an attempt has been made to highlight As means of conveyance they used decorated palanquins for short distance journeys while horses, camels, elephants and boats were used for long distance journeys. The chapter further investigates the *harem* establishment, slavery, matrimonial relations and marriages, practice of divorce and custom of dowry prevalent in the elite society of the Delhi Sultanate. Polygamy was in practice thus they maintained large *harems*.

Chapter VI: Virtues and Vices:

The virtues and vices among the nobles of Delhi Sultans have been analyzed in this chapter. They presented gifts to each other, provided charities to the poor and needy persons, gave assistance in the marriages of the poor and orphan girls,

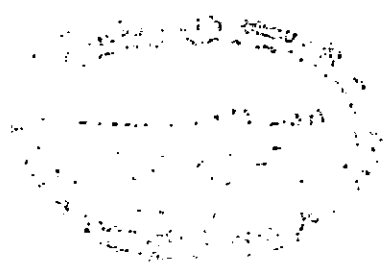
provided allowances to the widows, distributed free-food (*langars*), provided famine relief and provisions for the travellers and established educational institutions. Study supports the fact that they were generous in promoting agriculture, providing security to the people, welfare measures for the common people, patronized trade and commerce, constructed public utility structures: wells, step-wells, canals and tanks etc. contrary to their charitable acts, bribe and corruption, and wine drinking were the darker side of their life. Nobles of both high rank as well as lower ranks were involved in bribery and corruption so much so that even *diwan-i-wazarat*, *diwan-i-arz*, royal mint and judiciary were not free from corruption. Thus, both the piety and moral aberrations motivated the elite society of the Delhi Sultanate.

Chapter VII: Literature, Science and Craft:

This chapter highlights the literary activities of the nobles as well as their meaningful patronage to the other scholars. As a result, literature on different subjects like Indian tales, *masnavis*, *qasidas* (Panegyric), history, *farhang* literature (Lexicographical work), *insha* (letter writing), *fiqh* (Religious literature) *tafsir* (Commentary on Quran), *fatawa* (Muslim Jurisprudence), *tibb* (medicine), astronomy and astrology, mathematics, gemology, mining and metallurgy, architecture, numismatics and music was composed and compiled. They were not only interested in the study of astronomy and astrology but promoted research in these subjects and installed astrolabe (astrological devices) at their palaces. They were experts in medical sciences and alchemy. By inventing paper and artificial pearl and other things from ivory and mica they contributed much in the field of craft and technology. Thus, the contribution of the nobility in the field of literature, science and craft is quite remarkable.

Chapter VIII: Constructional Activities:

The other remarkable aspect of the nobles of Delhi Sultans was their constructional activities. Buildings of both religious and secular nature were constructed by them. Study suggests that the constructional activities undertaken by the noble was not cultural rather fiscal since it provided employment to the common people. The buildings constructed by the nobles were not merely utilitarian but symbolically conveyed the valor and grandeur of the ruling classes. The building construction activity was, indeed, a socio-cultural activity and the resources

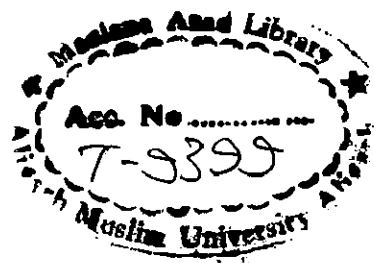


expended on the construction of buildings brought back for the nobles prestige, honour and legitimacy.

Thus, in short the nobility under Delhi Sultans played the decisive role in enriching the socio-cultural life in consolidation and integration of the Delhi Sultanate particularly under the Sultans: Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Though the sources of information are scanty and scattered, attention has been made to properly analyzed the available data to highlight the social and cultural life of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans.

In short, the nobles as administrators and aristocrats not only involved in their allotted administrative responsibilities in their specified regions rather they had enjoyed their lively social and cultural life in Indian and Perso-Islamic perspectives. However, the nobles as governors and *muqtis* and other high ranked posts were deputed in the far-flung regions of the Sultanate. In their respective assignments, they were exposed to their regional people and imbibed their local culture and customs and, in turn, they also infused in them their Perso-Islamic culture. Thus, the assimilation of two cultures to which we may also termed the composite culture are evident in their marriages, feasts and festivals, living and food habits, games and entertainments etc. However, the nobles of the Sultanate period not only acted as 'connector' between the rulers and the ruled rather as 'connector' of two cultures being a patronisers of art and literature, music and paintings as well as builders of religious and secular edifices and as supervisors of public welfare works and, above all, as 'innovators' in the field of science, technology and crafts.

In this regard different primary (published and unpublished) sources are used. Works of Hasan Nizami, Minhaj Siraj, Amir Khusrau, Zia Barani, Shams Siraj Afif, Ibn Battuta, Isami, Yahya Sirhindi, Rizquallah Mushtaqi, Abdullah, Ahmad Yadgar, al-Badaoni and Ferishta are significant. These Persian sources are supplemented with hagiographical (*malfuz*) literature to get a better insight into the socio-cultural life of the nobles under the Delhi Sultans. Besides, a number of Proceedings, Journals, Encyclopedias, Archival material, Survey Reports, Epigraphic records for technical terms *Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary* is of F. Steingass have been properly used.



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Introduction

In 1967, a modern historian S.B.P. Nigam published his pioneer work *Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi* and traced the evolution of the nobility, its character, organization and administrative training. Nigam considered the history of Delhi Sultanate as the outcome of the achievements and failures of the Turkish nobility because during this period many future Sultans were earlier the nobles. Nigam's main concern was the political and administrative aspects of the Sultanate nobility, thus ignoring the socio-cultural aspect. Two decades later, scholarly attempt was made to highlight the role of Sultanate nobility by prominent historians such as Prof. Irfan Habib ('Formation of the Sultanate Ruling Class of the Thirteenth Century', *Medieval India I*, Delhi, 1992), I. H. Siddiqui, 'Social Mobility in the Delhi Sultanate', *Medieval India I*, Delhi, 1992; 'Nobility under the Khalji Sultans', *Islamic Culture*, 1963) and M. Athar Ali ('Nobility under Muhammad bin Tughlaq', *Medieval India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture*, Delhi, 2006). These works encompassed the class and clan of nobility, their social composition which underwent a significant transformation as a result of the inclusion of socially inferior individuals in the ruling class.

Recently Peter Jackson (*The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge, 1999) and Sunil Kumar (*Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate*, New Delhi, 2007) tried to reinterpret the history of the Sultanate in their works but their focus remained on political and administrative role of the nobility. However, although the nobility under the Delhi Sultans has attracted the attention of historians but their socio-cultural life has still been ignored in historical scholarship.

In the field of society and culture, the pioneering works were those of Shaikh Abdur Rashid (*Society and Culture in Medieval India, 1200-1526 A. D.*) and K. M. Ashraf (*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1971). But their efforts have not been followed by other historians. Both these historians discussed the cultural environment of the period but failed to focus on the nobility as a special case of its own. Thus the social and cultural life of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans has not received adequate attention of the historians. However, the present work entitles **Socio-Cultural Life of the Nobility under the Delhi Sultans** seeks to fulfill this lacuna in the history of Delhi Sultanate.

The evidences are scanty and scattered. Besides the prominent works: Hasan ami (*Taj-ul-Ma'asir*), Minhaj Siraj (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*), Zia Barani (*Tarikh-i-firuzshahi*), Amir Khusrau (*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, *Nuh Sipahr*, *Khazain-ul-Uluh*, *Matla-ul-Anwar* etc), Shams Siraj Afif (*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*), Ain-ul-Mulk (*Ain-i-Akbari*), Ibn Battuta (*Rehla*), Isami (*Futuh-us-Salatin*), Yahya Sirhindi (*Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*), Bihamid Khani (*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*), Rizqullah Mushtaqi (*Tarikh-i-Mushtaqi*), Abdullah (*Tarikh-i-Daudi*), Ahmad Yadgar (*Tarikh-i-Shahi*), Nizamuddin Ahmad (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*), al-Badaoni (*Makhszat-i-Afghani*), Ferishta (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*), numerous Arabic and Persian geographic records and Reports of Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) are also utilized for the purpose. The contemporary hagiographical works of Amir Hasan Sijzi (*Wasit-ul-Fu'ad*), Hamid Qalandar (*Khair-ul-Majalis*), Mir Khurd (*Siyar-ul-Auliya*) and Mulla Daud (Hindi *masnavi*, *Chandayan*) contained significant informations. The other lesser use contemporary literary works such as *Dastur-ul-Afzail-fi-lughat-ul-Azail*, *Chandayan*, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*, *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, *Tibb-i-Sikandari*, *Manaparikkha*, *Dhatupatti*, *Ganitasarakaumudi* as well as *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania*, besides other significant manuscripts preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

All the chronicles of the Sultanate period, while recording the historical events of particular reign, provided significant though scattered information. Amir Khusrau, Barani and Rizqullah Mushtaqi in particular have appended fairly long lists of scholars, literatures, and other talented nobles in their works. More importantly, we have specific detailed accounts on some of the Sultanate nobles, particularly mentioned Barani, Afif and Mushtaqi in their works. They further provide valuable information on their food, dress, celebration of festivals and other ceremonies, generosity, charity and welfare works, interest in games, intellectual pursuits and cultural contributions.

The account of Ibn Battuta, Shihabuddin al-Umari and al-Qalqashandi record minute details about the social etiquette, rituals and customs observed by the nobles.

Ibn Battuta provide detailed account of the royal feasts, royal court, etiquettes, marriage ceremony as well as account of residential houses of Delhi, their structure and layout etc. Similar information has been provided directly and indirectly, by Amir Khusrau and others. However, the present thesis is divided into eight chapters dealing with different socio-cultural aspects of the Sultanate nobility.

The *first chapter* deals with the extant and sources of income of the nobility and reveals their wealth and financial stability. It is considered necessary to examine their income and its sources. The present study shows that besides the high amount they received in salaries, the nobles were assigned lands and received a lot of wealth from gifts and rewards. Some of them also amassed wealth through bribe and corruption. However, the nobles were rich and prosperous and had hoards of wealth.

The *second chapter* deals with the etiquettes and norms of comportment during the Sultanate period. Sources refer to the royal courts and participation of the nobles in the court rituals. The sources even discuss the courts held by the provincial governors, processions of the Sultans and of the nobles, court ceremonies, noble's *harem* and their attitude towards Sultans, their colleagues, other nobles, slaves as well as common people. Their manners in the royal court, manner of presenting and receiving gifts from Sultans, ways of meetings, *sijda*, *paibos khakbos* and *dastbos* are much interesting and significantly enough to show etiquettes among them.

The *third chapter* deals with the feasts, festivals and ceremonies of the Sultanate period and the participation of the nobility in those ceremonies. These occasions were celebrated in great enthusiasm. Nobles not only attended the royal feasts but also invited other nobles and officials at their palaces for feasts. Ibn Battuta attended several feasts and banquets at the residences of nobles on several occasions. Similarly Mushtaqi provide us the details of the feasts attended and hosted by the Lodi nobles. Thus, large kitchens were seems to be maintained by the nobles and they spent huge sums on feasts, festivals and other ceremonies. Evidences show that the celebration and commemoration of several ceremonies such as: *Ramzan*, *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Id-al-Qurban*, *Shab-i-Barat*, *Muharram*, *Ashura*, *Nauroz*, birth and death anniversaries of Prophet of Islam etc. They used to distribute food on these occasions. The participation of musicians, singers as well as lavish decoration and awards added the elegance in these festivities. Besides festivals, marriage ceremonies held important place in the socio-cultural life of the nobles under the Delhi Sultans. These events were celebrated with great gaiety and were sometimes sources of fun and entertainment for the ruling classes.

The *fourth chapter* deals with the games and other modes of entertainment. The Indian game chess, *chaugan* (polo) and hunting were popular during Sultanate period.

tarani, Amir Khusrau, Afif, Ibn Battuta and Mushtaqi emphasis on hunting show that it was the primary game. The nobles followed Sultans in their hunting excursions with all their necessary requirements.

Music was another source for entertainment of the Sultanate nobility. Musical instruments such as drums, reed pipes, flutes, trumpets and haut boys were among the favourites of the high ranked nobles. Musicians and singers with musical instruments, *huff*, *nai*, *chang* and *rabab*, participated in marriage ceremony and even followed the nobles in their journeys. Both male and female musicians and singers were patronized by the nobles. In this regard Ibn Battuta's travel account is of much significance. The compilation of the works on Indian music, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya* by anonymous author and *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* by Yahya Qabuli are worth mentioning. Despite restriction on music in the light of *sharia*, the nobles used it as a source of amusement. Convivial and drinking parties, garden parties, *qawwali* and story-tellers, dancers, acrobats, jugglers and other entertainers seems to be the sources of recreation for the nobility.

The *fifth chapter* deals with the household and domestic life of the nobles. The chapter intended to explain the housing and living conditions of the noble, their dresses, food and utensils. An attempt has been made to highlight the *harem* establishment, slavery, marriages, practice of divorce and custom of dowry prevalent in the elite society of the Delhi Sultanate. As means of conveyance they used decorated palanquins for short distance journeys while horses, camels, elephants and boats were used for long distance journeys.

The *sixth chapter* deals with the virtues and vices among the nobility under Delhi Sultans. It highlights the public welfare works undertaken by the nobility, such as charitable acts, *khanqah* construction, distribution of food during famine and help in the marriages of orphan girls and the daughters of poor parents. Contrarily, the chapter sheds light over the vices such as bribe-taking practices, corruption and wine drinking. Thus, the chapter reveals the norms and ethics, virtues and vices among the Sultanate nobility.

The patronage extended to the scholars, poets and other literary personages by the Sultans was followed by the nobles. Therefore, the *seventh chapter* of the present

thesis highlights the literary contribution of the Sultanate nobility. The literary works of the period has been categorized into two:

- Literature produced by the nobles.
- Literature produced under noble's patronage.

The list of literary nobles consists the names of Bahauddin al-Jamji, Qazi Ruknuddin Samarqandi, Taj Reza, Shams Dabir, Minhaj Siraj, Amir Loyaki, Ziauddin Sunami, Raziuddin al-Saghani, Amir Nasiri, Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri, Thakkura Pheru, Kabiruddin, Qazi Safi al-Din Buhair, Ikhtisan *dabir*, Rafi Hajib-i-Khairat and Mutahhar of Kara, Ain ul-Mulk Multani commonly known as Mahru. Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, *wazir* of Sultan Firoz Shah patronized Mulla Daud, in compiling his famous Hindi *masnavi Chandayan*. Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija entitled *Zia-ul-Mulk*, the *mustaufi-i-mamalik*, used to compose verses, and was a known patron of the anonymous author of the famous work on Indian Music namely *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*. Among others Malik Tatar Khan, Malik Qabul Qara Khan, Malik Ikhtiyariuddin, Qazi Abid, Qazi Sairafi, Qazi Zahir Dehlavi, Yahya Sirhindi, Amir Ruhani, Tajuddin Bukhari, Mahmud Khattat, Azzuddin Alawi, Shams Moin, Siraji Khurasani, Umar bin Yahya, Shihab Abdusi Asim and the remarkably gifted person Mian Bhua, *wazir* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi deserve mention. Nizam ul-Mulk Junaidi was not only the *wazir* of Sultan Iltutmish but also a peerless patron of scholars and poets. Qutlugh Khan, governor of Daulatabad patronized Kamal Karim Nagori, who wrote a work on *fiqh* known as *Majmu-i-Khani*.

The *last chapter* throws significant light on the constructional activities of the nobles under Delhi Sultans. Arabic, Persian and some Sanskrit inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplements)* record that a large number of buildings consisting both religious and secular, such as mosques, tombs, forts, inns, tanks, wells, step-wells and even *khanqahs* (hospices) were constructed by the nobles. The construction of the water reservoirs, *khanqahs* and *serais* are the best example of the public welfare works undertaken by the nobles. The nobles even founded cities and encouraged immigrants, scholars and others to come and settle in the towns. The constructional works exhibits that the nobles were great builders and innovators.

CHAPTER-I

Extant and Sources of Income

The nobles, as an influential element of the Delhi Sultanate, started their career mostly as slaves of the Sultan or those of other higher nobles and by dint of their merits and loyalty towards their masters achieved the rank of an *Amir*. From this stage onwards, they were honoured with higher titles like *Khans*, *Maliks*, and *Amirs*, denoting their achievements and promotions. The noble's rank has been marked by the allotment of *iqta* and elevation of *maratib* with titles which determined the official position at the court.¹ The highest rank was that of *khan*, followed by *maliks*, *amirs* and *sipahsalar*s in order of precedence. Their ranks and positions in the court determined their extent and sources of income which for convenient, sub-classified into three categories: salaries and assignments; gifts, charity and loans; and bribe and corruptions.²

A. Salaries and Assignments:

The salaries of the nobles were according to their ranks and positions. Their mode of payment was both in cash and kind. Generally they were honoured by the Sultans on auspicious occasion who conferred upon them costly robes and valuable articles according to their ranks and positions.³ Although proportion of their income from their respective *iqtas* is not certain, their mode of living itself shows their high income. Thus, they were highly paid officials. The noble's sources of income and amassed wealth may be gauged from their conferment of lavish gifts to the patronized persons as well as spending of money on charity, welfare and marriages. Malik Qutbuddin Alvi spent huge amount on the celebrations of the marriage of his son is recorded by Barani.⁴ Another Khalji noble Malik Ahmad Chap used to distribute one lakh *tankahs* in one night to the *nadims* and musicians of the court.⁵ Malik Nusrat Subah, *muqti* of Kanod and Jaubala, surpassed all the nobles of his time in charity and remained under debt with the result that money lenders were regular visitors to his

¹ S.B.P. Nigam, *Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi (1206-1398 A.D.)*, Delhi, 1967, p. 105.

² Zia Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, 2005, p. 145; Shihabuddin al-Umari, *Masalik-ul-Absar fi-mamalik-ul-Amsar*, Eng. tr., I. H. Siddiqui and Qazi Mohammad Ahmad, Aligarh, 1971, pp. 37-39; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 159.

³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 144; Nigam, *Nobility*, pp. 159-160.

⁴ He spent two lakh *tankahs* on the marriage ceremony of his son. Besides, he gave hundred caparisoned horses, caps and clothes to thousand men in charity. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 202; H. C. Verma, *Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal India*, Delhi, 1986, p. 135

⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 202-203; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 161.

ace.⁶ Minhaj mentions that Malik Saifuddin Aibek was appointed as the *sarjandar* / Sultan Iltutmish with the salary of three lakh *jitals* (copper coins) but he was not satisfied. Malik Saifuddin Aibek pleaded it to the Sultan that he was given the office of affliction but he had not exercised their undue power and avoiding blood-shedding, torture, extortion and oppression upon the subjects. Sultan Iltutmish then showed great reliance upon him and appointed the *muqta* of another place.⁷ Likewise, the pay of Amir Saifuddin Mahmud, father of Amir Khusrau, who served as an *Amir* in the army of Sultan Iltutmish and Balban, was 1,200 *tankahs* per annum⁸ while the pay of *twals* Branjtan and Hatiya Paik was 1,00,000 *jitals* per annum.⁹

In continuity, the nobles received handsome payments under the early Sultans of Khalji dynasty. The pay of Amir Khusrau was fixed 1,200 *tankahs* which had been the pay of his father under the Mamluks.¹⁰ A Hindu Manadhar, who was appointed subordinate *Vakil-i-dar* to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Khurram, *Vakil-i-Dar* under Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, was paid one lakh *jitals*.¹¹ But Sultan Alauddin Khalji followed a different policy of payment. He reduced the salary of the nobles in order to enhance his military. Thus, Amir Khusrau's salary was reduced to 1000 *tankahs* only.¹² He introduced the payment of salaries only in cash¹³ and thus resumed all the land grants, *ams*, *milk*, *iqtas* and *waqf*.¹⁴ In principle the land assignment in lieu of cash salary was abolished but the only exception was Malik Kafur, *naib-i-Sultan*, who was given the *iqta* of Rapri as a special mark of honour and distinction.¹⁵

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 204.

Minhaj Siraj Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, ed. Captain Nassau Lees, Mawlawis Khadim Hosain and Abd al-Hai, Calcutta, 1864, p. 237; Eng. tr., Major Henry George Raverty, New Delhi, 1970, Vol. II, pp. 729-730; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 160; I. H. Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship under the Sultans of Delhi (13th- 14th Centuries)*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 57.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 197.

Ibid., p. 210; Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 79; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 76.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 210; K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1971, p. 154.

Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 195-196; I. H. Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Aligarh, 1969, p. vii; Idem, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 98.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 210; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 161.

Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 284, 324; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 105.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 303; Eng. tr. A. R. Fuller and A. Khallaque, *The Reign of Alauddin Khilji*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 70-71; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 161.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 328; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 105-106.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq continued the practice of cash payment.¹⁶ He fixed the allowances of *amirs* according to their ranks and positions.¹⁷ He introduced the pensions system for ex-ruling elite thus pension had been fixed for respected nobles like Khwaja Khatir and Khwaja Muhazzab.¹⁸ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had himself fixed the salary of high ranked nobles. In the first year of his reign, just to placate the nobles, he distributed one year's salary in advance.¹⁹ Appointments of the nobles were made either by the Sultan or the Sultan's representatives and then salary was fixed according to the posts and ranks. A bond was signed by the foreigners in the effect that he would not go back to his own country once he was appointed to a post in the imperial service.²⁰ Besides the usual pay, the Sultan also used to disburse huge amounts on auspicious occasions.

Regarding allowances of the nobles, Shihabuddin al-Umari records that one *naib-i-Sultan*, entitles *Khan*, have been granted *iqta* as large as the country of Iraq. The *iqta* of *wazir* was equally larger. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had four *naibs* (known as *shiqdar*) and their salary ranged from twenty thousand to forty thousand gold *tankahs*. The *dabirs* (secretaries) of the Sultan (maintaining a staff of 300 scribes) got the salary of ten thousand gold *tankahs*. Some high ranked scribes maintained villages in lieu of their salary. Usually fifty villages were assigned to some of them. The pay of *Sadr-i-Jahan* and that of the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* was sixty thousand *tankahs*. This amount was their personal salary, thus they were not entitled to meet any expenditure of their army. *Khans*, *maliks* and *amirs* were given stipends according to their status for their own expenditure.

A *Khan* commanded ten thousand horsemen; *Malik* commanded thousand while only hundred horsemen were commanded by an *amir*. Below them *isfahla* have less than hundred. All of them were assigned *iqtas* which would yield more than their due. Thus *khan* used to receive two lakhs of gold *tankahs* for his personal use and

¹⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 435.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 438; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 128.

¹⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 426-427; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 127.

¹⁹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras, 1948, p. 422; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 163.

²⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Eng. tr. Agha Mahdi Husain, G. O. S. Baroda, 1976, p. xxxix (Hereafter cited as Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*.).

lik got fifty to sixty thousand gold *tankahs*, *amir* received thirty to forty thousand *tankahs* while *isfahla* got about twenty thousand gold *tankahs* as his salary.²¹

Ibn Battuta records some important appointments on various posts. It is said that Sultan appointed Khudawandzada Ziya-uddin to the post of *Amir-i-Dad* (Lord Justice) whose duty was to sit in the Qazi's court and summon before him whenever an *amir* or principal officer was called. Sultan fixed his salary at fifty thousand gold *tankahs* a year and assigned to him a number of *jagirs* yielding an equivalent amount. Sultan also gave him fifty thousand gold *tankahs* in advance and placed on him a silk robe of honour with gold embroidery of the kind called *bat-al-shir* as well as a horse of superior breed.²² The next post of *nazir-i-abad-i-khass* (head auditor general)²³ was given to Amir Bakht with the title *Arif-ul-Mulk*. His salary was fixed forty thousand gold *tankahs* a year and villages were also assigned to him in *jagir*. Again forty thousand gold *tankahs* were given to him and a horse with full equipments. Hibatullah-al-Falaki was appointed *rasuldar* (Chamberlains for missions) with fixed salary of twenty-four thousand gold *tankahs* per year. Villages as *jagir* were also assigned to him with twenty four thousand gold *tankahs* in cash, a horse with full equipment and a robe of honour with the title *Bahaul Mulk*.²⁴ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq appointed Ibn Battuta as *Qazi* of the capital city Delhi and fixed twelve thousand gold *tankahs* per year as his salary. Like others, villages as *jagirs* were assigned to him which yielded much amount and twelve thousand gold *tankahs* in cash were commanded for him. A horse with saddle and bridle and a *maghribi* robe of honour was invested on Ibn Battuta.²⁵

Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 37-38; Al-Qalqashandi, *Subhul-'Asha*, Eng. tr. Otto Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th Century* (Being a translation of the chapters on India), Aligarh, 1935, pp. 71, 91; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 164; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1976, p. 196; K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis (1290-1320 A.D.)*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 171; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 154.

Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Eng. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Battuta (1325-1354 A.D.)*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1993, p. 746 (Hereafter cited as *Travels*); Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

His duty was to assist the *wazir* and to examine the accounts of various government departments. Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. xxxix.

Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 746-747; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 747; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165; Muhammad Basheer Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Karachi, 1951, p. 109, 112; H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Traveller of Islam', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. V, No. I, 1931, p. 34. A *farman* issued by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq appointing Sama al-Din Bahar as the Qazi. It also mentions his salary, assignments and other allowances. See Document dated 1356 A.D., preserved in National Archives of India, New Delhi, DAD (1356-1790), Vol. III, S. no. 1, Acc. No. NAI-2668/51.

Referring to Malik Qabula, Ibn Battuta says that this Malik enjoyed immense prestige and vast wealth. He was informed by one of his revenue officers that the allowance of Malik Qabula along with the allowances of his slaves together with their stipends amounted to thirty-six lakhs of gold *tankahs* per year.²⁶ Shihab Sultani, a slave of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq entitled Nusrat Khan, was appointed governor of Bidar with a fief yielding a lakh of *tankahs*.²⁷

Besides nobles and the higher officials, the emoluments were fixed for the emissaries. Amir Ghyasuddin Mahmud of Baghdad, commonly known as Makhdumzada, came to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq's court as representative of the Abbasid *Khalifa* (Caliph) of Baghdad was assigned the territory of Kannauj with revenue of Siri and other area besides a general grant of one lakh *tankahs*.²⁸ Sometimes appointments were made without fixation of any regular salary and in such case *iqta* was assigned to them. Such appointees were called *muqtis* and were placed in charge of administrative units. For example Malik Pindar Khalji, known as Qadr Khan, was assigned the *iqta* of Lakhnanti; Malik Izzuddin Yahya became the *muqti* of Satgaon; Alp Khan son of Qutlugh Khan received *iqta* of Gujarat; and Maulana Shahabuddin, *Malik-ul-Tujjar*, received the *iqta* of Nausari.²⁹ While Malik Bahauddin, nephew of Sultan Ghyasuddin, was elevated to the post of *Ariz-i-Mamalik* with the *iqta* of Samana as his fief.³⁰ Sultan appointed Malik Shihabuddin Multani as the *muqti* of Bidar with its dependencies which yielded annually a revenue of one crore of rupee.³¹

The salaries of the nobles enhanced during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah.³² The Sultan categorized his nobles according to their ranks and positions and used to grant eight, six or four lakhs of gold *tankahs* to each noble respectively. Besides Afif and Barani, other historians also record that Sultan awarded Malik Sanjar Badakhshani eighty lakh *tankahs* while seventy lakh *tankahs* to Malik-ul-Muluk Imaduddin and

²⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 665.

²⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 454, 481, 488; Ishwari Prasad, *A History of Qaranuh Turks in India*, Vol. I, Allahabad, 1974, pp. 145-146.

²⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 496; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

²⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 354-355; Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, ed. Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 99-100.

³⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 428; Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. I, Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow, 1875, p. 130.

³¹ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 137, 138.

³² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 402.

erty lakhs *tankahs* to Maulana Izzuddin.³³ Zafar Khan Farsi was appointed *naib-azir* with salary of four lakh *tankahs* by Sultan Firoz Shah.³⁴ He introduced the system of *wajahdari* in order to make provisions for pay out of the revenue signments of the villages.³⁵ Khan-i-Jahan, *wazir* of Sultan Firoz Shah, was assigned the *iqta* of Samana as *inam* for maintenance.³⁶ Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan was assigned the *iqta* of Hissar Firozah.³⁷ Malik-ul-Hukama had the *iqta* of Broach (Gujarat) under his command³⁸ while Ain-ul-Mulk was given Awadh and Zafarabad.³⁹ Thus, most of the nobles were assigned *iqtas* in lieu of their salaries. Besides the usual pay there were many notable exceptions to the general rule. Afif records that Khan-i-Jahan *azir* got thirteen lakh *tankahs* for the maintenance of his troops, family members and dependents. He has also been allotted various *iqtas* and *parganahs* in addition to that amount.⁴⁰ The Sultan granted eleven thousand *tankahs* to each son of Khan-i-Jahan while fifteen thousand *tankahs* for upbringing of each daughter knowing well that he had several offsprings.⁴¹ Hereditary appointment was reintroduced by Firoz Shah. However, after the death of *wazir* Khan Jahan, his son was appointed on the same post and was allowed to inherit his father's large maintenances and *iqtas*. In addition he was conferred upon, like his father, the privileges of having an umbrella and elephants. The only condition mentioned in the *farman* concerning his appointment was that he would retain in service the old servants of his father.⁴²

Sultan Firoz Shah fixed the annual stipend of two lakh *tankahs* to Jam and the same for Bambh, his newly appointed courtiers.⁴³ Aziz Khammar was made *wali* (governor) of Dhar and Malwa and in service he collected lakhs of *tankah*.⁴⁴ Likewise

Ferishta, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, p. 133; Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow, 1875, p. 107.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 583; Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, ed. Maulvi Wilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 137-142, 156, 158, 162, 206-07, 225; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 126, 131; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 115; Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, ed. Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1868, p. 126.

Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 94-96.

Ibid., pp. 75-76; Eng. tr. R. C. Jauhri, *Medieval India in Transition*, Delhi, 2001, p. 64; A. D. Khan, *History of Sadarat in Medieval India*, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1988, p. 188.

Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 148; Eng. tr., p. 102.

Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 113.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 485.

Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297; Eng. tr., pp. 171-172.

Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 400; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, Facsimile Edition, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, 1999, pp. 162-163; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul' *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, (New Edition), Leiden, 1978, pp. 101 a-b.

Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 253.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 503.

Maulana Nasiruddin, *Malik-un-Nudama*, got one lakh *tankahs* per year and hundred thousand *tankahs* were awarded to Malik Ghazi.⁴⁵ Thus, all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs were assigned *iqtas* which were for their personal use.⁴⁶ Due to the grant of wealth in cash and kind all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs generally possessed a large quantity of jewels, gold and diamonds.⁴⁷

It is recorded that the salaries of the nobles have been further increased under the Saiyyid Sultans but when Balhol Lodi ascended the throne he continued the earlier salaries of his nobles.⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that Mian Zabaruddin, military officer posted in Delhi, refused to accept any assistance or salary from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.⁴⁹ Sultan Bahlol assigned the revenue of large *iqta* of Phulet (in Muzaffarnagar district, U.P.), yielding one million *tankahs* annually, for the maintenance in addition to a palace outside the fortification of the city to Shah Abdullah Qureshi.⁵⁰

The Lodi Sultans were sticked to the earlier grants of *jagirs* and had not changed it unless one found guilty of misappropriation. If a noble was found guilty of any crime, then he has been black listed for ever and never considered worthy of any posts.⁵¹ If a noble was granted a *jagir* of an assessment value of one lakh *tankahs* but later on it was reported to the Sultan that *jagir* yielded the revenue of ten lakh *tankahs*, then after inquiry the fief has been left under the possession of the holder. Mushtaqi elaborates that once Malik Badruddin Bahlim was assigned a *jagir* of seven lakh *tankahs* in a certain *pargana*. In the first year, the *jagir* yielded nine lakh *tankahs* to which the Malik reported to the Sultan. Sultan ordered him to keep this excess amount. Next year the revenue further increased to twelve lakh *tankahs*. Malik again reported to the Sultan who further ordered him to retain it. The revenue of his *jagir* was further enhanced to fifteen lakh *tankahs* which was also retained to him by the order of the Sultan.⁵² Once a noble made a complaint to the Sultan Sikandar Lodi against Miran Saiyyid Fazlallah Rasuldar Kolvi that although he was assigned the *iqta*

⁴⁵ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, p. 133.

⁴⁶ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 38-39.

⁴⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297; Eng. tr., p. 172.

⁴⁸ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 145, 147.

⁴⁹ Rizqullah Mushtaqi, *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, ed. I. H. Siddiqui, Rampur, 2002, p. 76.

⁵⁰ Ahmad Khan Akbar Shahi, *Shajrah-i-Suhrawardi*, Quoted by I. H. Siddiqui, *Composite Culture under the Sultanate of Delhi*, New Delhi, 2012, p. 72.

⁵¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 63. When Mian Malih Turk was found guilty of forcibly occupying the land of a Saiyyid, his *iqta* was confiscated and he remained jobless. Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 32; Also Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, p. 148.

⁵² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 63-64; Eng. tr., pp. 65-66.

the value of one lakh *tankahs* but he held in his possession the *iqta* valued five lakh *tankahs*. The complainant was submitted to the Sultan that if the *iqta* of Miran Fazlallah would be transferred to him on *ijara* (revenue farming) then he would paid Miran his dues of one lakh *tankahs* and deposited three lakh *tankahs* to the royal treasury and rest whatever be left, will be share of that noble. An inquiry was set up by the royal order of the Sultan. The land under cultivation was measured by the *jandars* (prefects) and they assessed the actual yield of revenue and reported that the *iqta* yielded fifteen lakh *tankahs* instead of five lakhs. The *jandars* had already been appointed by *wajahdar* Fazlallah. After the assessment of the inquiry, Sultan Sikandar Lodi issued a *farman* that since the *jagir* was assigned to the Saiyyids according to the royal order, the yield whatever it was may be theirs.⁵³

The big *iqtas* were granted to the nobles for the maintenance of the soldiers. The Lodi noble Mujahid Khan held the *iqta* of worth twenty thousand *tankahs* for maintaining the contingent but soon after, his allowances (*mawajib*) were doubled by the Sultan Sikandar Lodi.⁵⁴ On the death of Khan-i-Jahan, his son Ahmad Khan was granted an annual allowance of one lakh *tankahs* for the purchase of horses and clothing and another one lakh *tankah* for miscellaneous expenses.⁵⁵

. Gift, Charity and Loans:

Evidences tend to suggest that although the nobles enjoyed handsome salaries and assignments but they also enhanced their income from several other resources such as gifts or awards comprising gardens as well as villages. They possessed a large retinue of staff, comprising male and female, attendants and bearers.⁵⁶ On the basis of the gifts and awards, one may estimate the wealth of the nobles. Gifts either presented to the Sultans or received by the nobles from the Sultans indicate the extent of wealth possessed by the nobles. According to Shihabuddin al-Umari, the Sultan extended mostly gifts such as jewels, horses, saddles gilded with gold and silver, golden girdles and cloths of various kinds to the nobles. Since elephants were considered as the privilege of the Sultan, the Sultan did not reward it to his nobles rather he received elephants as a gift from the nobles.⁵⁷ One noble named Malik Bayazidi from the

Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 63-65; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, pp. 148-149.

Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 76-77.

Ibid., p. 70.

Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Delhi, 1976, p. 429.

Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 52-53.

province of Manikpur gave Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq huge presents including horses of fine breed. Sultan allotted eleven horses to Malik Saifuddin Gaddah.⁵⁸

A merchant governor of Gujarat Tajuddin al-Kawlami frequently sent costly gifts including slaves, camels, weapons and cloth etc. to the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. In return, he received twelve lakhs of gold *tankah* in cash by the Sultan.⁵⁹ Afif recorded that Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, *wazir* of Firoz Shah, used to present four lakh gold *tankahs* to the Sultan annually.⁶⁰ Malik Mujir Abu Rija had presented many horses, gold and jewels from his *iqta* to Malik Fakhruddin Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq).⁶¹ Welcome gift was presented to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq by his *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan when Sultan came back from Daulatabad. The gifts consisted three trays each one full of rubies, emerald and precious pearls.⁶²

Ibn Battuta records various events when nobles and officers gave presents to each other and to the Sultan. When Ibn Battuta himself met Malik Qutbul Malik the governor of Multan, he presented him a slave, a horse, and some raisin almonds which he considered the greatest gift since the almonds were imported from Khurasan.⁶³ The nobles used to present gold, silver, elephants, camels, horse, slaves, arms, precious stones, and other costly articles to the Sultan according to their status. These presents were offered on certain occasions like on return of Sultan from a hunting expedition, or on a victory over any rebel or enemy, on the birth of a prince or any ceremony or on the day of festivals.⁶⁴ Gold embroidered robes were considered as most sought after gifts among the nobility. When Imad-ul-Mulk Bashir Sultani, *Ariz-i-Mamalik*, was received in the vicinity of Delhi by Khan-i-Jahan, the *wazir*, he was presented embroidered robes as gift by the latter.⁶⁵ The wealth of the nobles is evident from the costly gifts presented by them to the Sultan. They presented gold and silver vessels, such as basins, ewers and so forth. They also offered solid bricks made of gold and silver which were called *khisht*. Horses gilded with saddles, camels loaded

⁵⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 78.

⁵⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 733-734.

⁶⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 427; Eng. tr., p. 235.

⁶¹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 397; Eng. tr. Mahdi Husain, *Futuh-us-Salatin or Shahnama-i-Hind*, Bombay, 1977, Vol. II, p. 604.

⁶² Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 663; B.N. Luniya, *Life and Culture in Medieval India*, Indore, 1978, p. 199.

⁶³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 605.

⁶⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 267-268; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁶⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 142.

with wealth and mules were also presented by them.⁶⁶

An unusual evidence indicates the gift of six elephants presented by Sultan Firoz Shah to Malik Ibrahim, *Naib-Barbak*.⁶⁷ Ibn Battuta also attested the distribution of elephants as gifts to the nobles by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, even he himself received one elephant.⁶⁸ Horses equipped with ornamented saddles and bridles were also given to the nobles by the Sultan.⁶⁹ The governors and *muqtas* whenever attended the court they presented slaves to the sultan. They annually presented the Arab and Turkish horses, elephants, camels, robes, gold and silver vessels and other articles according to their status and resources.⁷⁰

After the death of Sultan Muhammad, the *wazir* Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz had supported his own candidate and to win over the support of other nobles, distributed wealth in cash and jewels, diamonds and precious pearls till the treasury became totally exhausted.⁷¹

The *iqtas* and *parganas* were assigned by the Sultan to the nobles who, in turn, appointed *naib-muqtis* to govern the *iqtas* and other officials to record the submission of account of the collected revenues. The officials then scrutinized the submitted account. If dues were found pending against the *naib muqtis*, their turban has been taken off and only after realization of that amount it was resumed to that person. Thus, the nobles were very strict in realizing the revenue from their *iqtas*⁷² which indicates their concern about their wealth. It has been recorded that on the eve of transfer of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq doubled the gifts and salaries to help them in constructing their houses in the new capital.⁷³ They were further given extra allowances by the Sultans to maintain comfort. Contrary to it, a Lodi noble Mian Maruf Farmuli who never accepted any reward or present from the Sultan.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 663.

⁶⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 428-429; Eng. tr., pp. 235-236; Sheikh Abdur Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India (1206-1556 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 18.

⁶⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 109.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 126-127.

⁷⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 267-269, 339-340; Eng. tr., p. 157, 193.

⁷¹ That amount was recorded against his name, which was due on him, when Firoz became the Sultan. Cf. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 539; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 52-53, 74; Eng. tr., pp. 52-53, 63; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 120; U. N. Day, *Some Aspects of Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1971, p. 126.

⁷² Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 432-433; Eng. tr., p. 237.

⁷³ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 99; Eng. tr., p. 101.

⁷⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 181.

Despite enormous wealth collected by the nobles, their huge expenses and extravagances compelled them to take loans. Barani informs about the loans taken on interests from *multani* merchants and *sahus* of Delhi by extravagant and luxurious nobles. On account of their generosity and charitable acts, the Maliks, Khans and other nobles had always been in debt. Thus, the *multani* merchants and *sahus* of Delhi became prosperous and acquired abundant wealth. The nobles took beyond limit and repaid the advances with largesses upon their *iqtas*. The moment a Khan or Malik held an assembly and invited notables as guests, his functionaries rushed to the *multanis* and *sahus* for taking loans on interest. As a result, the creditors and money-lenders frequented the houses of the debtor nobles for recovery of the payment.⁷⁵

Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz distributed large amounts from the royal treasury. Later on these amounts have been accounted as loan received by Khwaja Jahan. Khwaja Fakhr Shadi, accountant general (and *wazir* of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq), prepared the lists for recovery but Sultan Firoz Shah wrote off these amounts on the advice of Qiwwam-ul-mulk Khan-i-Jahan, the *wazir*.⁷⁶ The merchants of Sindh used to provide thousands of gold *tankahs* in cash as loan as well as the articles which the nobles wanted to present to the Sultan. Loan lending trade made the Sindhi merchants prosperous. Ibn Battuta also took loan from the Sindhi merchants for his gifts to the Sultan.⁷⁷ The Indian method of collecting loans from the debtor was called *duhai* (a cry for justice or help). When the loan giver failed in recovery, he tried to seek Sultan's protection. He would stand before the gate of the palace and stop the debtor noble and demanded their dues. The debtor either had to pay the debt or take time to pay it. Sometimes the debts of the nobles have been paid by the Sultan.⁷⁸ But sometimes noble who gave loan to other noble himself write off the loans. Mian Zainuddin, once lend loans to certain influential persons and signed a bond but with a firm intention of not receiving this loan back. Later he washed off those bonds although by the time he himself was jobless.⁷⁹

Once Ibn Battuta conspired with his creditors for payment of his debt which amounted nearly fifty five thousand gold *dinars*. He asked them to demand it at the

⁷⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 120; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 25; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Verma, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 221; I. H. Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate: Urbanization and Social Change*, New Delhi, 2009, p. 45.

⁷⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 92; Eng. tr., pp. 71-72.

⁷⁷ H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta (Travels in Asia and Africa) 1325-1354 A.D.*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 184-185.

⁷⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 411; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 275.

⁷⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 73.

gate of Sultan's palace and stop him from entering it so that Sultan might notice that. The clerks communicated it to the Sultan, who just to rescue him from humiliation ordered to issue that amount from the royal treasury. After examination of the bonds and documents submitted by creditors, the *Khatt-i-Khurd* (certificate of Payment) was issued. Bribe was also demanded for the withdrawal of the amount from the royal treasury.⁸⁰

C. Bribe and Corruption:

High expenses, costly gifts and luxurious life of the nobles could not be met with their salaries alone. Thus, they also accumulated large wealth through other means which provided opportunities for the corruption and exploitation.⁸¹ Thus, the bribe and corruption were other means of income for the nobility. Nobles accumulated wealth through unrestrained way of marginalizing the presence of the spies. They not only misappropriated the revenues⁸² but extracting money from common people.⁸³ When Alauddin Khalji was the governor of Kara and Manikpur, he had distributed five *maunds* of gold among the loyal nobles of Sultan Jalauddin to win over their support on his way to Delhi. These nobles had thus amassed twenty to thirty *maunds* of gold. Even their soldiers got three thousand *tankahs* cash as a reward for their shift of loyalty to Sultan Alauddin.⁸⁴

Barani informs that the *muqtis* embezzled the money, temper with the accounts and exacted more than the specified share from the *iqtas*.⁸⁵ When *iqta* system became hereditary under Sultan Firoz Shah, the *muqtis* had to take interest in its economic progress to enhance their resources. They started increasing its actual yields which was assessed at the time of grant, assuring that it would not be transferred to any other individual.⁸⁶ The sources also show that the officers like *amils*, *mutsarrifs*, *karkuns*

⁸⁰ For details see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 750-751; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures of Ibn Battuta (A Muslim Traveller of 14th C.)*, Sydney, 1986, pp. 195; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 275.

⁸¹ K. S. Lal, *Legacy of Muslim Rule in India*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 173.

⁸² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1875-76, p. 46; Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, ed. S. Abdur Rashid, Lahore, 1965, Letter No. 98, pp. 184-186; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 472-473; Muhammad Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments in the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526)*, Delhi, 1992, p. 125; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 228.

⁸³ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 18, pp. 41-44.

⁸⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 243; Eng. tr. Fuller & Khallaque, p. 22; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁸⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 431; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

⁸⁶ Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 170-171.

and others had collected huge wealth.⁸⁷ The revenue collectors and the finance officers (*mutasarrifs*) embezzled the state money to accumulate wealth.⁸⁸

Ain-ul-Mulk in his *Insha* clearly states that people were oppressed for illegal gratification by the officers. They were so oppressive in collection that in certain cases they even imprisoned the people.⁸⁹ Thus, common people lived a miserable life while officers accumulated wealth through wrong means.

Sources reveal several incidences of the bribery and corruption, practiced by the nobles. Afif devoted several pages to criticize the corrupt practices of the prominent noble of Firoz Shah, namely Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija who held the post of *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik* (Auditor General of the Sultanate). In Afif's view, he started accepting bribes because he had already established his goodwill control over the Sultan. Even he ignored the welfare of the people and prestige of the state. When practice became ugly, almost all the higher nobles, Khans, Maliks, and Amirs, stood against him and informed the Sultan but that could hardly affect Abu Rija since he was the favourite of the Sultan. He was strict and oppressive in entrapping the people and officials in false charges and placed before the *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan but he was acquitted when he paid the demand.⁹⁰ Malik Abu Rija used various tricks of corruption to accumulate wealth. When he was the governor of Gujarat, he received an imperial order that compensation should be paid to the traders if their elephants died on the way which were brought as presents. Malik Abu Rija exploited the imperial decree and registered false numbers of dead elephants and thus, extracted the amount of compensation for himself.⁹¹ However, on the basis of repeated informations Sultan Firoz Shah was convinced about his mischievous doings thus, when Malik Abdullah registered the charges of corruption against Abu Rija, Sultan immediately ordered the investigation. The report from *Diwan-i-wazarat* came which disclosed that when Abu Rija was *naib* (deputy) in Gujarat, he had borrowed ninety thousand gold *tankahs* from the royal treasury which was still unpaid although he has

⁸⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 292, 385; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 23-24, 195, 346, 347, 472, 477, 479; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 93.

⁸⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 292, 384-385; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 103, 114. Ibn Battuta and Afif both mention several cases of collection of large amounts by *amilis*, *mutasarrifs*, *karkuns* and other officials. For details see Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 135; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 23-24, 195, 346, 347, 472, 477, 479.

⁸⁹ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, letter no. 18, pp. 41-44; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 93.

⁹⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 476-479, 483-484.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 486; Eng. tr., p. 263.

been worked as *mustaufi-i-mamalik*.⁹² Consequently, his house was searched to estimate his accumulated wealth. Surprisingly, the search officers brought the amount of precious things in value of eighty thousand gold *tankahs*, another three thousand gold *tankahs* in cash and a box full of golden spears soaked in poison.⁹³

Commenting upon the bribe in every sphere, the contemporary historian Afif informs that even a gold *tankah* was taken as bribe from a soldier by the official of *Diwan-i-Arz* to approve his horse.⁹⁴ The author further describes, in detail, the mode of cheating in the royal mint under the supervision of Kajar Shah, the mint master during Firoz Shah. On the order of Sultan, Khan-i-Jahan started investigation but spared the noble and established the fault of the artisans whoever, infact, innocent.⁹⁵ Zia Barani cryptically remarks on Qazi Hamiduddin Multani that greedy and mundane people were appointed as *Qazis*. Barani complaint that the *qazis* used to stretch the meanings of the Quranic texts in accordance with the wishes of the Sultan and accumulated great wealth.⁹⁶ Amir Khusrau further reveals corruption in judiciary too. However, evidences would have us to believe that fraud and bribe was prevalent in the Sultanate society and the nobles were equally involved in that wicked practice.⁹⁷

D. Accumulation of wealth and expenditure:

References, directly or indirectly, reflect the wealth of nobles and its sources. Their property included orchards, villages, houses and the cash treasure.⁹⁸ Sometimes capturing huge treasure from the vassal Kings originated the idea of rebellion in their mind.⁹⁹ On the basis of their wealth they sometimes adopted

⁹² Afif, *Tarikh*, pp.485-486; Eng. tr., p. 263; Lal, *Legacy*, p. 178; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 170-171.

⁹³ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 489-490; Eng. tr., p. 265; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 438.

⁹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 300-301; Eng. tr., p.173.

⁹⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 344-349; Eng. tr., pp. 195-197.

⁹⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 446.

⁹⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 318-323; Prof. S. H. Askari, 'Life and Conditions as Depicted in Risail-i-Ijaz-i-Khusravi', *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. X, No. I, August, 1967, p. 82; Idem, *Amir Khusrau: As a Historian*, Patna, 1992, p. 77. For a *parwana* related to false evidence, see Document, CAD (1402-1719), Vol. I, S. No. 4, Acc. No. 1737, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

⁹⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 250-251; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 94; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 207; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 180; Eng. tr., George Ranking, Vol. I, Patna, 1973, Vol. I, p. 244; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 102.

⁹⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 639; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 366-367; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 570; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 212; Eng. tr., p. 286; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, pp. 108, 126-127; Eng. tr., pp. 195, 223-224. Afif mentions that Sultan Firoz Shah appointed Shamsuddin Damghani as the governor of Gujarat. He collected huge amount and planned a rebellion. He purchased ammunition and materials of wars and did not remit it to the royal treasury. For details see *Tarikh*, pp. 500-501.

special privileges and the royal insignias.¹⁰⁰

Amir Khusrau referring to the changes in financial conditions of the nobles remarks that the conditions of the nobles improved in comparison to earlier days. They spent huge amount on charity and welfare works. Because of their wealth some of them indulged in gambling. They mixed up legal wealth with illegal money which polluted the legitimate earnings.¹⁰¹ Minhaj records the countless wealth and treasure accumulated by Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak.¹⁰² Amir Khusrau refers to richness of Malik Imadud-Daula while Ibn Battuta records the vast wealth possessed by Malik Kabir, a Tughlaqid noble.¹⁰³

Indicating the hoarding of wealth, Afif records that when Malik Shaheen Shahna, *naib Amir-i-Majlis* (Deputy Chief of the Court) died his wealth and property amounted fifty lakhs of gold *tankahs* besides other valuables, jewels, costly robes and diamonds found in his vault.¹⁰⁴ Underground tanks with inside holes were constructed to hoard the gold *tankahs*.¹⁰⁵ Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija had concealed huge wealth in his house which was situated in the royal fort. His wealth was estimated about eighty thousand gold *tankahs* and other three thousand gold *tankahs* in cash were also found from his house.¹⁰⁶

Imad-ul-Mulk Bashir Sultani, a Tughlaqid noble, had huge wealth and property under his possession which was in crores. The size of his accumulated wealth can be estimated from the fact that once he needed the *hessian* bags to keep the cash amount which was in crores. The cost of one such bag was four *jitals* while two thousand and five hundred *tankahs* had been spent to purchase these bags to hoard the cash safely. He then abandoned the idea as it provided clues to the wealth and ordered to dig the

¹⁰⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 390-391, 493-494; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 661, 665; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 159, 160-164; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 57-58, 88, 212; Eng. tr., pp. 81-82, 125, 285; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 43-44; Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Calcutta, 1928, p. 42; Eng. tr., M. F. Lokhandwala, GOS, Baroda, 1965, p. 34; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 90; Eng. tr., pp. 164-165; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-i-Mudabbir*, p. 26 as quoted by Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 48, 63, 114, 164-165; K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics during 13th Century*, Aligarh, 1966, pp. 150-151.

¹⁰¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Dr. Habibuddin Ahmad (Managing Editor), *Writings of Amir Khusrau: 700 years after the Prophet: A 13th-14th Century Legend of the Indian-Sub-Continent: Based on annotated translation of his work, Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Illinois, 2007, Vol. IV, pp. 202-204.

¹⁰² Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 263; Eng. tr., p. 764.

¹⁰³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 56; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 665.

¹⁰⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 297-298; Eng. tr., p. 172; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 154; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 62.

¹⁰⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 489-490; Eng. tr., p. 265.

wells for keeping the wealth. Thus, the wealth was stored like grain.¹⁰⁷ After Bashir's death, his wealth was amounted to twelve crore of gold *tankahs*. Accumulated wealth of Bashir Sultani extended suspicion because thirteen crore gold *tankahs* were not possible to collect from the *iqta* of Rapri which he was holding.¹⁰⁸ Out of which nine crores were transferred to royal treasury while remaining was distributed among his son Malik Ishaq and his son-in-Law and other adopted sons and slaves. Since Malik Ishaq himself possessed enough wealth, thus he did not receive the wealth of his father. However, like Bashir, most of the Khans and Maliks of Sultan Firoz Shah were rich and wealthy. It would be correct to assert that none was richer than Bashir and no one possessed more wealth than him.¹⁰⁹ Though Firoz Shah knew about the vast wealth of Bashir and also about the way in which it was collected, he deliberately did not take any action against him and also affirmed Bashir's property as his own property because Bashir was his slave.¹¹⁰ Similarly Saiyyid Salim, a noble of Saiyyid period, accumulated great wealth while he was posted at Tabarhinda.¹¹¹

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq distributed lakhs of *tankahs* among his nobles which, indeed, created an atmosphere of luxurious life. He appointed Tatar Khan (earlier *muqti* of Sonargaon) to the government of Bengal with hundred elephants, two thousand horses and a crore of gold *tankahs*. Likewise he had given seventy lakhs of *tankahs* to Malik Sanjar Badakhshani; eighty lakhs of *tankahs* to Malik-ul-Mulk Imaduddin; and forty lakhs *tankahs* to Maulana Azduddin.¹¹²

Sometimes nobles enhanced their income by investing their capital in trade and commerce. Ibn Battuta noted down the wealth of a noble, *Malik-ul-Tujjar* Tajuddin Kawlami who accumulated huge wealth through trade with different countries of Asia and Africa. He came to Delhi with a large number of gifts comprising slaves, camels, merchandise, weapon and woven stuffs. In turn, the Sultan awarded him twelve lakhs of *tankahs*. He was appointed governor of Cambay from where he sent ships to Malabar and Sri Lanka and other places. Thus, the sea trade made him enormously

¹⁰⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 439-44.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 440-441; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 93; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 440; Eng. tr., p. 241; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 304, 306.

¹¹⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 441-442, 444; Muhammad Habib & K. A. Nizami, (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, Part-I, Delhi, 1982, p. 616.

¹¹¹ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 214; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 141.

¹¹² Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 133; Eng. tr., p. 235.

wealthy.¹¹³ Reference suggests that since *Malik-ul-Tujjar* was the governor of Cambay, thus carried on his private trade with foreign countries with the royal permission. Likewise, the brothers of Malik Adhu Kansī, an important noble of Sikandar Lodi, engaged themselves in overland trade who belonged to the town of Shikarpur in the Punjab, travelled to Iran and Central Asia with a merchant caravan taking Indian products and returned loaded with foreign merchandise.¹¹⁴ Mian Walid, a non-Afghan officer of Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan Sarang Khani (*muqti* of Jaunpur) accumulated huge wealth by establishing industries of perfumes and *Chuva* (glassware). Himself a master in crafts, he trained his servants and slaves in manufacturing glassware and extracting perfumes of fine quality. He also purchased quality goods, stored them and then supplied them to the market where it fetched high prices. Generating additional income from crafts and trade, he has been lived like high ranking nobles holding banquets for friends and giving money to his relatives.¹¹⁵

However, some of the nobles established their *karkhanas* (workshops-cum-storehouses) for manufacturing Central Asian crafts in India.¹¹⁶ The nobles had also carried on trade through their subordinates. A Lodi noble Mujahid Khan; *iqtdar* during the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, engaged his subordinates and allotted him twenty thousand *tankahs* from his treasury. He further suggested him to purchase cheap grains at the time of harvest and sell it after sometime to fetch a considerable profit.¹¹⁷ However, evidences reveal that trade was the medium through which the nobles genuinely increased their income.

The wealth turned the nobles extravagant who spent money on luxury and splendid livings. Reference indicates that sometimes Sultan got angry from the nobles for their extravagant expenditure.¹¹⁸ On some occasions their lavish expenditures cross all limits. Shaikh Najibuddin, the *Imam* of the mosque, criticized the wasteful expenditure of more than one lakh *jitals* by Malik Aitamar on the wedding of his

¹¹³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 602, 733-734; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Social Mobility in the Delhi Sultanate', Irfan Habib (ed.) in *Medieval India I (Researches in History of India – 1200-1750)*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 30-31; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 137.

¹¹⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 254-255; Eng. tr., 283-284; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 113.

¹¹⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 241-242; Eng. tr., pp. 272-273; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 113.

¹¹⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 30, 60, 92; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 46

¹¹⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 77; Eng. tr., p. 80.

¹¹⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 419.

daughter.¹¹⁹ Ibn Battuta also records the wasteful expenditure on the marriage ceremony of Malik Saifuddin Gaddah.¹²⁰ Similarly a Lodi noble Shaikh Ghuran spent lavishly on the wedding of his son. He paid seventy thousand *tankahs* to singers alone. While on the third day of the wedding he distributed one hundred and fifty ass-loads of cloths including silk fabrics.¹²¹ On the death anniversary of Prophet of Islam, Mian Zainuddin spent two thousand *tankahs* daily continuously for twelve days and on the first and last day he spent four thousand *tankahs* on food preparations.¹²²

Many of the Lodi nobles such as Jalal Khan Lodi (known as Jighat, the *muqta* of Kalpi), Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani, *muqta* of Rapri, and Dilawar Khan, son of Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua spent lavishly on women and pleasure. They were known for having a large number of women in their household and maintaining large harems. Dilawar Khan spent two and a half lakh *tankahs* annually on buying flowers and perfumes for his seraglio (*harem*).¹²³ The other Lodi noble Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi presented hundred and twenty horses from his *paigah* (stable) to his officer Saddu Khan Sirbini. Similarly he presented him three diamonds worth 70,000 *tankahs*, 50,000 *tankahs* and 30,000 *tankahs* respectively.¹²⁴ Once he distributed seven lakh *tankahs* among the soldiers when they were in need of money.¹²⁵ Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan had more than twenty two close associates. Every one of them maintained their own stable of horses and the maintenance was looked after by Lad Khan.¹²⁶

Often the Sultan confiscated the wealth of the nobles on some pretext. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq came to know that one senior noble has been addicted to wine thus he ordered to confiscate all the wealth of that noble worth 43,700,000

¹¹⁹ Amir Hasan Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow, 1312 A. H., pp. 78-79, 134; Sunil Kumar, *Emergence of Delhi Sultanate*, New Delhi, 2007, p. 200; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 156; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes and the Catering Profession in Pre-Mughal India', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 59, no. 2, 1985, pp. 120-121.

¹²⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 686-687; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 121.

¹²¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 110; Eng. tr. p. 118; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 86; Idem, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 68; Idem, 'Food Dishes', p. 123.

¹²² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 72, 75.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 82; Eng. tr., p. 87; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, p. 84; Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, New Delhi, 2001, Vol. IV, p. 475.

¹²⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 84, 89-90; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 82, 83; Eng. tr., pp. 473-474. The values of the jewels differ in Abdullah's account.

¹²⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 85.

¹²⁶ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 90, 91.

mithqals of gold.¹²⁷ Although Malik Bhiran, *muqta* of Gulbarga under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was a wealthy noble but his greed of wealth crossed all boundary. He had eye on the rich *iqta* of Kohir which was under Ali Shah. To establish his hold over that *iqta* he tried to bribe Qutlugh Khan, the governor of Daulatabad, through costly gifts including horses, jewels and cloths. He also offered Qutlugh Khan fifty percent share of the revenue of Kohir if he supported him in allotting that *iqta*.¹²⁸ Similarly, Shamsuddin Damghani offered forty lakhs of *tankahs* per year along with hundred elephants, two hundred Arab horse, four hundred slaves against the tax of Gujarat.¹²⁹ The wealth of a Lodi noble Jamal Khan could be estimated well that when he was honoured with a robe, *inam* and the grant of a *pargana* by Sultan Bahlol, he had purchased one hundred twenty horses in a single transaction.¹³⁰

Conclusively the nobles were much wealthy on account of their salary which was in lakh of *tankahs*. They sometimes got their salary in cash while some of them got it in form of *jagir* which yielded large amount and made major source of their wealth. Besides, the Sultans bestowed gifts on various occasion, both in cash and kind, and the nobles themselves exchanged presents which made them wealthy yet they further tried hard to get much more wealth as far as it was possible. Sometimes because of their extravagant expenses they were addicted to take loan, often bribed the people and then accumulate to spend further on luxury. They even used the articles of gold and silver and other precious things, some of them even were considered against *sharia* and prohibited by the Sultan. Strangely, their wealth and magnificent life occasionally excited jealousy of the Sultans.¹³¹ Thus the nobility was the chief consuming class of the Sultanate society. Rich and prosperous, it decidedly shaped the production process and the culture of refined tastes and consumption.

¹²⁷ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 46.

¹²⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 474-475; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 726-727.

¹²⁹ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 132; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117; Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 39; Eng. tr., p. 32.

¹³⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 16.

¹³¹ Firoz Shah Tughlaq, *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, ed. Azra Alavi, Delhi, 1998, p. 13; K.M. Munshi, *History and Culture of Indian People, (Delhi Sultanate)*, Vol. 4, Bombay, 1960, pp. 613-614.

CHAPTER-II

Etiquettes and Norms of Comportments

Historians of medieval India have not paid adequate attention to the court culture, etiquettes and norms of comportment in the Sultanate period, although court etiquettes, norms of comportment, rituals and ceremonials served to legitimate state power and control. The court culture, with all its excess and display, as also etiquettes and norms was actually an instrument of domination, and legitimated the political structure. The contemporary sources provide ample evidence about the court culture in the Sultanate period elaborating in details the holding of royal court, the royal processions, gift-exchanges, etiquettes, rituals and ceremonials.

Nobles were a part of the royal court. All the *Amirs*, *Maliks* and *Khans* attended the court and paid their respects to the Sultan whenever public audience was granted.¹ Among the Sultanate sovereigns, Balban meticulously organized the court life in the light of Sassanid tradition.² Later all the Sultans followed the traditions set up by him in etiquettes, decorum, seats and positions assigned, dress and duties of the courtiers. The royal court was magnificently decorated with pomp and excess on special occasions such as to welcome an envoy or a distinguish guest, to announce the coronation of a monarch, to commemorate an event, to celebrate the birthday of the Sultan and to accept the *nazrs* (presents from nobles and others) and *nirurs* from his subjects.³ Sultan was first to adorn the throne in the court. *Wazir* used to stand in front of the Sultan and secretaries (*dabir*) stood behind the *wazir* then the chamberlains (*hajibs*) together with the head chamberlain (*kabir-ul-Hujjab*) and then the *khass-i-hajib* (special chamberlains) and *saiyyid-ul-hujjab* (chief chamberlain) occupied their places respectively with their staffs. The *hajibs* were followed by hundred *naqibs*. The *qazis*, *khatibs*, *shaikhs*, great *amirs*, foreign visitors as well as the commanders of the army, in order, saluted the Sultan in the spacious council-hall. Besides, decorated horses (with saddles, bridles and royal tapering over them) and trained elephants caparisoned with golden silk cloth saluted the Sultan by bending

¹ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., Bhagwat Saroop, Delhi, 1998, p. 135; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 53-54; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 40; Eng. tr., pp. 98-99; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 64; Eng. tr., p. 60; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 77.

² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 25; Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, ed. M. Ismail, Aligarh, 1918, p. 25; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 100.

³ Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 71-72.

their heads. The nobles and officials stood on the left side of the throne and were assigned their places according to their ranks.⁴

Sultan Ilutmish recognized the status and position of his nobles, thus he remarked that when he saw the nobles standing with folded hands in his presence he felt like stepping down from the throne and kissing their hands and even their feet.⁵ Under the Lodis too, every noble had his appointed post in the royal court.⁶ While in the public *darbar*, Sultan Bahlol sat on the carpet and some of the nobles were ordered to stand.⁷ Thus as a rule all the nobles and the grandees of the state attended the royal court in person but if anyone absented himself for some reason, his place was taken by a representative (*vakil*).⁸

Court was held between the *asr* and *maghrib* prayers. All the Khans, Maliks and Amirs presented their gifts to Sultan. The courtiers and the nobles followed their official costumes together with other emblems of office. The courtiers, *farrashes*, *tashtdars* and *khawajasara* all wore the complete dress consisting of the *qaba*, *kulah* and *moza* (socks).⁹ During the time of Firoz Shah, no one was allowed to attend the royal court without his headgear or woolen cap.¹⁰ The *khil'at* (robe of honour) consisting of tunic of brocade, tartar cap, white belt and a waistband of gold was the prescribed dress of the nobles. The nobles who were not given the robe of honour put a fur coat and a fur cap. The court officials presented themselves in their official costumes with other emblems of their respective offices.¹¹

The nobles were generally well trained in court manners and etiquettes. *Qabus-nama* of Kaikaus bin Iskandar bin Qabus of eleventh century was considered a

⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 58-59; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III., p. 629; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 277-281.

⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 137; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 143.

⁶ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 63; Eng. tr., p. 65; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 39; Eng. tr., p. 450.

⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 10; Eng. tr., p. 9; K. A. Nizami, *Royalty in Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 68.

⁸ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 9; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 74.

⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 32-33; N. B. Roy, 'A Peep into the Delhi Court During the Reign of Sultan Firuz Shah', *Proc. I. H. C.*, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 315.

¹⁰ Afif mentions that silk costumes were in vogue. The long tunic was banned. The use of conical cap, stockings and hair-net was obligatory and nobody was granted admittance into the audience hall without cap, except those who had already received the royal presents of gold embroidered robes, a white girdle, a gold buckle and a cap resembling that of the *barbak* (master of ceremonies). *Tarikh*, pp. 277-280, 282; Eng. tr., pp. 161-163; This costume became so fashionable that every one attending the court put it on, giving up the front open *qaba* which had been liked heretofore. Great importance was given to wearing of uniforms such as, socks, hair ribbons, woolen caps, and robes. Cf. Jamini Mohan Banerjee, *History of Firuz Shah Tughluq*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 90-91; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Appendix-J, pp. 651-652.

¹¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 279; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 74.

manual of rules of conduct and etiquettes for the Sultans and the nobles. The process of training was certainly in practice which paved the way for the new entrants to learn all sorts of court etiquettes and made themselves equipped for high ranking nobles.¹²

Khan-i-Jahan, the *wazir* of Sultan Firoz Shah, enjoyed high rank and position and had his seat to the right near the throne of Sultan. Then Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Amir Hasan Amir-i-Miran, *naib-wazir-i-mamalik* (deputy prime minister), sat below Khan-i-Jahan. These were three important nobles sitting near the royal throne. Qazi Sadr-i-Jahan and Banbh¹³ (the courtier) had occupied their seats behind right side of Khan-i-Jahan on a carpet, while at some distance to the left, Zafar Khan bin Zafar Khan sat on a double folded carpet and Ahmad Khan Khurasani sat near him. Rai Mardar Deo, Rai Sabir and Rawat Adheran sat behind them.¹⁴

Once Ibn Battuta attended the camp court. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was sitting on a chair resembling a pulpit draped in silk embroidered with gold, while the interior of the tent was draped in gilded silk. The grandees of the state sat in the chairs to the left and right sides of the Sultan. At the door of the tent were posted the *naib*, the *wazir*, the *hajib* (chamberlain) and the insignia officers. All these four persons stood up for the visitor's (*qazi* Ibn Battuta) arrival and accompanied him while the insignia officer acted as an interpreter.¹⁵ It has been mentioned that Bahlol Lodi neither sat on the throne nor on raised platform. His successor Sikandar Lodi allowed the nobles to sit in his presence.¹⁶

Imitating the Sultans, nobles also held their courts (See Appendices-E, F). When Malik Alp Khan summoned the leaders of the army, he took his seat at the high place. The other prominent officers of his court took their seats according to their positions. Then the ambassadors were called to his

¹² Malik Saifuddin Khoju was directed to train the newly arrived courtiers, Jam and Banbh, with court etiquettes before presentation to Sultan Firoz Shah. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 247, 248, 283; S. B. P. Nigam, 'Administrative Training of the Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi (1206-1398 A. D.)', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VLI, No. 2, April 1976, p. 91; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 75; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹³ He was former ruler of Thatta who then came under the subordination of Firoz Shah. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 241-250.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 280-281; Eng. tr., pp. 163-164; Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughluq*, p. 91-92; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 652-653; Roy, 'A Peep into the Delhi Court', pp. 314-315.

¹⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 254-255; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 132.

¹⁶ A. Halim, *History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 53-113; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 94.

presence.¹⁷ Qutlugh Khan, Tughlaqid noble, is said to have held a *bargah* (court) which has two high *dahliz*.¹⁸ It is recorded that in his public audience Malik Qutbul Mulk, Tughlaqid governor of Sind, sat on a carpeted dais. The Qazi named Salar and the preacher sat beside him. On the left and right side of the governor, commanders of the troops were ranged in a row while the armed men stood at his back. The troops were passed in review before him.¹⁹ Malik Ibrahim, *naib-i-barbak*, held his court at the central courtyard of the royal palace. At his court, swordsmen appeared in attendance and stood in the rows. Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (*mustaufi-i-mamalik*) used to hold his assembly in the *diwan-i-wazarat*.²⁰

Mian Ahmad Khan, *muqti* of Jaunpur, used to hold his *darbar* in the *peshkhana* (public hall) to receive people who came there to visit him. Alongwith *hajibs*, the *naib parwana-navis* (officer in charge of chancellery), *majumdar* (officer in charge of keeping muster rolls) and *vakil* used to sit on the *chabutra*. The *hajib* received the petitions from people and inquired into their grievances. The *darbar* again assembled in the evening in the company of *ulama* and *mashaikh*. If a soldier occupied the seat of an *alim* (scholar) by mistake, he was instructed to take his appointed seat. Similarly, in case some scholar or saint sat along with the army men, he was shifted to his allotted place. However, the place was reserved for the *ulama*, saints and soldiers in his audience hall.²¹

Mian Sulaiman Farmuli maintained six thousand *sawars* and everyone had to salute him in the morning.²² *Wazir* held his court separately under the Lodis, known as *chabutra*. Sultan was informed about the daily proceedings of the court of *wazir*. The *vakil* of Dariya Khan Nuhani had to remain on the *chabutra* (public hall of justice) daily until the first watch of night for receiving petitions from the supplicants. The *qazis* and *ulama*, well-versed in *sharia*, twelve in number were present in the royal court for issuing decree. The case which was brought to the *chabutra* of *diwan-*

¹⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, ed. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, Calcutta, 1953, p. 105; Eng. tr., Muhammad Habib, Madras, 1931, p. 74; Bonnie C. Wade, *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India*, New Delhi, 1998, Fig. no. 50; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, <https://vmfa.museum/collections/art/page-prince-wales-chandayan-khan-e-jahan-dispenses-justice/>

¹⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 477.

¹⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 605-607.

²⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 431, 455-456; Eng. tr., p. 236-237, 248.

²¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 88; Eng. tr., pp. 93-94.

²² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 82.

i-wazarat had to be referred to the ulama. Everything happened in the court of justice was reported to the Sultan for royal perusal.²³

The Persian customs, *sajda*, *paibos*, *dastbos* and *zaminbos* were regarded as essentials of etiquette.²⁴ Whenever a noble visited the public *darbar* of the Sultan, the ceremony of prostration was performed from a respectable distance.²⁵ On Sassanid pattern, Sultan Balban insisted on the performance of the *sajda* (prostration), the *paibos* (kissing the royal feet) and the observance of a number of pompous ceremonies in the court.²⁶ Whenever Sultan returned to the capital after a victory, all the nobles, Muslims, Hindus, *turks* and *tajiks* presented themselves to the royal court to perform *khakbos*.²⁷ *Khakbos* was performed when a noble advanced to receive the Sultan.²⁸ Whenever nobles presented themselves at the royal court on the occasion to congratulate the Sultan, on his accession to the throne, performed *dastbos*.²⁹

*Paibos*³⁰ and *zaminbos*³¹ were performed by a noble out of respect when he was honoured by the Sultan with some appointment or sometimes when he had attended himself before the Sultan. Kissing the royal feet was considered as having the additional distinction (of receiving the robe of honour in return from Sultan). It raised noble's status so high.³²

Once Firoz Shah, at Hissar Firozah had called all the courtiers and held a general meeting. Khan-i-Azam Zafar Khan from Sonargaon offered his salutations to the Sultan with great humility from the seat of *hajib* in the presence of all Khans and

²³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 31, 41-42, 61.

²⁴ M. Aziz Ahmad, 'The Central Structure of the Sultanate of Delhi', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 18, 1944, p. 70; Idem, 'The Imperial Majlises in the Early Sultanate Period', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1941, p. 322.

²⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 70; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 304, 322; Eng. tr., pp. 481, 489, 500.

²⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 30; Khan, *History of the Sadarat*, Vol. I, p. 108; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 64.

²⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 31, 108; Kamal Mahiyar performed *khakbos* when he was appointed to the *iqta* of Amroha. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 36. It appears that the Hindus or low ranked nobles were allowed only *khakbos* before the Sultan as a mark to pay respect. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 188-191.

²⁸ Abdullah Wassaf, *Tajriyat-ul-Amsar wa Tajriyat-ul-Asar*, Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 40-41.

²⁹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 208, 212, 303; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 683, 675, 834; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 142, 233; Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 35; S. Hasan Askari, 'Historical Matters in Ijaz-i-Khusravi', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1964, p. 18.

³⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 38, 40, 41, 142, 164; Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 9; Eng. tr., Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, New Delhi, 1995, p. 80; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 108, 127-128, 274, 356, 397, 400, 402, 403, 413, 501; Eng. tr., 218, 244, 412, 449, 554, 603, 606, 611; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 137, 281-282; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 175, 179, 184, 186, 196, 197, 200, 204, 213, 216, 229, 243.

³¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 142; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 248; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 185, 386; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 316, 590; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. ; Eng. tr., pp. 188-189.

³² Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., pp. 98-99.

Maliks. He presented an elephant to the Sultan and then performed *paibos*. He was given a gift in return and a title as well.³³ Thus *paibos* was the general etiquette of the period among the nobility. When Ulugh Khan performed the royal *paibos*, Sultan Tughlaq Shah took his head into his lap as a mark of appreciation. In return of *paibos* performed by the noble the Sultan also kissed his hand out of kindness and allowed him to sit on a golden chair.³⁴

To negate all these Sassanid court etiquettes prevalent in the Sultanate period, a fourteenth century *fatawa* literature warns that if a Sultan orders a Muslim to prostrate before him, otherwise he would be killed, it would be virtuous (*afzal*) not to follow the royal order to avoid an act of infidelity (*kufir*). But surprisingly, the same work states that if a person does *sajdah-i-tahiyyat* (prostration of respect) before a Sultan due to his fear it would not be considered *kufir*. Thus the above verdict inferred that though the prostration (*sajda*) before the Sultan (even for respect) has not been permitted by the *fatawa* but it was not treated as an act of *kufir* or infidelity.³⁵ In the light of *sharia*, the *ulema* of the period had showed great resentment against the practice of *paibos* and *zaminbos*. Sayyed Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi, *shaikh-ul-islam* during the time of Iltutmish, had severely criticized the Sultans for allowing and encouraging the unlawful practice of doing *sajda* before the Sultan. However, response of the *Fatawa-i-Firozshahi* to these practices defines the limits of obeying Sultan.³⁶

Furthermore, the nobles accompanied the Sultan in his royal processions with their standards and insignias. It was customary for the *amirs* to follow Sultan with their standards, drums, bugles, and haut-boys. No one rode in front of the Sultan except the chamberlains. On the left and right of the Sultan, fifteen in each row, the *qazis*, *wazirs*, *amirs* and foreigners rode. Footmen and guides marched on his front with gold embroidered silk standards and drums on camels.³⁷ In royal procession of the Lodi Sultans every noble stood on the road and made obeisance to the Sultan.³⁸

³³ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 139, 141, 205; Eng. tr., pp. 98-99, 128.

³⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 245; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 747, 750-751; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 393, 403, 413, 433; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 598, 606, 610, 623-624.

³⁵ *Fatawa-i-Firozshahi* as quoted by Zafar-ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature of the Sultanate Period*, Delhi, 2005, p. 65.

³⁶ Cf. Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

³⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 36. Ibn Battuta was Qazi of Delhi, so he rode on the left of the Sultan.

³⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 63; Eng. tr., p. 65.

There were prescribed etiquettes that determined the procedure through which the nobles presented themselves and offered salutations before the Sultan. Whenever they presented themselves before the Sultan, they paid customary obeisance before him³⁹ and was awarded with a robe of honour from the Sultan.⁴⁰ Whenever and wherever nobles listened the name of the reigning Sultan, they bowed their heads and showed their respects for the Sultan.⁴¹

Ibn Battuta informs that when he was introduced to the Sultan, the *amir-i-hajib* Malik Firoz advanced to receive him and bowed to honour him. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq shook hands. Ibn Battuta performed *dastbos*, kissing his hand about seven times whenever Sultan complimented him.⁴² The nobles used to show extraordinary humility in receiving Sultan. They advanced two to three *kos* to meet the Sultan. They were expected to carry presents like horses, camels, fruits, weapons, slaves, and other valuable things. In return, they were given gold embroidered robes of honour.⁴³ When Sultan wanted to honour a noble, Sultan kissed his head and presented him a special robe of honour.⁴⁴ When Qazi Sa'd entered the royal court, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq descended from his throne and hastened to receive him with great honour and respect, kissed his hands several times and even offered him a seat by his side.⁴⁵

On the death of Sultan, the noble off their cap and robes and wore black garments, tore the garments, followed the bier bare-footed and slept on the ground for three months.⁴⁶

Nobles frequently visited each other's houses on several occasions.⁴⁷ The manners and etiquettes have also been recorded in the chronicles regarding the

³⁹ *Jawami-ul-Kalim* as quoted by Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 153.

⁴⁰ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., pp. 269-270, 271; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 371; Eng. tr., p. 573; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, ed. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 70-71.

⁴¹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 121; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 77; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁴² Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 125-126.

⁴³ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 60, 106-107; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 417; Eng. tr., pp. 630-631; U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁴ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 371; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 572-573.

⁴⁵ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 118, 371; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 231, 572-573.

⁴⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 122-123; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 15; Eng. tr., p. 14; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 80.

⁴⁷ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 255; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 753; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 213, 214; Eng. tr., pp. 287, 288; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 33; Eng. tr., pp. 78-79; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 69; Eng. tr., p. 125.

meetings of two nobles. They treated their guests with all politeness and courtesy,⁴⁸ sometimes rose from their *masnad* and be seated the guest in their own place.⁴⁹ Touching the beard and kissing were regarded as the signs of affection.⁵⁰ Whenever a noble visited other's palace, most of their men stood outside.⁵¹ Their conversations were brief and pleasant and even did not progress beyond certain well-defined limits. Care was taken to avoid offensive remarks.⁵² The host provided a seat to their guest, above their own seat, out of respect.⁵³ The host was expected to perform certain formalities such as the guest was invited to a dinner, the host was to help him in washing his hands.⁵⁴ Guests were entertained with fruits, food and *pan*⁵⁵ and sometimes with perfumes and flowers.⁵⁶

Thus, when a noble was on his ceremonial visit to another noble, he was received by the host at some distance. On coming close to each other, they alighted from their horses, removed their canopies and advanced towards each other welcoming warmly.⁵⁷ Whenever Imad ul-Mulk Bashir was came to meet Khan-i-Jahan, the latter would get up from his seat to welcome him and promptly paid respects and homage to Imad ul-Mulk. Imad ul Mulk also respected Khan-i-Jahan very much. Since their houses were adjacent to each other, Khan-i-Jahan had to pass across latter's house, so whenever he (Khan-i-Jahan) moved out for his office with all his prime ministerial escort, he would direct them not to beat drums and clarions in front of the house of Imad ul Mulk. Khan-i-Jahan stood in front of the residence of Imad ul-Mulk till the latter came out. It happened in the absence of the Sultan on the *Id* days, then both went together.⁵⁸ When Imad ul-Mulk saw Khan-i-Jahan, he

⁴⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 13, 59; Khawaja Nimatallah bin Kh. Habibullah al-Harevi, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, ed. Syed Muhammad Imam al-Din, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1960, p. 140; Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, New Delhi, 2001, Vol. V, p. 76; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 74.

⁴⁹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 232; Eng. tr., pp. 722-723.

⁵⁰ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 69; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 77.

⁵¹ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 152; Eng. tr., p. 339.

⁵² Amir Khusrau, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow, 1884, pp. 66, 68, 113-117; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 104; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 269.

⁵³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 193.

⁵⁴ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 117; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75.

⁵⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 287.

⁵⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 85-86; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 5-6; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 140; Eng. tr. Nirodbhusan Roy, *History of the Afghans*, Santiniketan, 1958, p. 32; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 8; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 151-152; Eng. tr., p. 338; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 174.

⁵⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 237; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 56-57; Eng. tr., pp. 53-54; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 269.

⁵⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 443-444; Eng. tr., p. 242.

alighted from his horse and bowed down to touch the feet of Khan-i-Jahan. Khan-i-Jahan also bowed towards Imad ul-Mulk and ultimately both of them embraced each other and then sat together. Khan-i-Jahan presented embroidered robes to Imad ul-Mulk as a mark of gesture.⁵⁹ Masnad-i-Ali Khawwas Khan, a Lodi noble, was posted at Bayana. Ahmad Khan Sur with his army men reached Bayana to pay a visit to Khawwas Khan. Khawwas Khan rushed to receive them before they could reach him and politely requested him to be stay for next day since on that day he was on fast.⁶⁰

When an *amir* or any person committed a mistake, he had to present himself before the Sultan with humility. Contemporary historians record descriptions of political mistake and error by the nobles and the manner in which they present themselves before the Sultans. Rebelled noble was presented bare-headed before the Sultan placing the turban round his neck.⁶¹ Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji adopted very lenient attitude towards rebel nobles. Once Malik Chajju and other captive Amirs were presented before him in chains, he ordered to lose them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour and offered them food from his dining carpet.⁶² Amir Khusrau mentions that it was the custom that one who committed a fault was made to stand in the place where shoes and slippers were left.⁶³

Royal *farmans* were received with great respect and deference by the nobles and they used to bow down in the direction of the Sultan out of respect.⁶⁴ The nobles of Sultan Sikandar Lodi used to advance two to three *kos* to receive the royal *farman*. The courier placed the *farman* on dais. The noble to whom it was addressed stood below it and respectfully held the *farman* with both hands and placed it on his head and eyes. In accordance with the nature of the command it was read. If the *farman* was written for a particular *amir*, it was secretly read for

⁵⁹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 237; Eng. tr., p. 142.

⁶⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 148-149; Eng. tr., pp. 162-63.

⁶¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 70; Eng. tr., pp. 61-62; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 67, 205; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 28; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 79.

⁶² Barani, *Tarikh*, Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 139; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 168; Eng. tr., p. 232.

⁶³ Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 31.

⁶⁴ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 188-191; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 288; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 463.

him.⁶⁵ But, if a *farman* was concerned others then they were informed by the noble to come to audience.⁶⁶

The Sultan used to send every year two robes of honours to the nobles; one in winter and other in summer. As per the prescribed norms whenever the robes arrived, the *amir* and the troops went out to receive them and paid homage in the direction of the Sultan. Certain etiquettes were also observed while receiving the royal gift. One had to bow with his right hand touching the ground at the time of accepting the royal gift.⁶⁷ When Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq awarded money, robes and horses to Ibn Battuta, he had performed the prescribed etiquettes. Receiving the award from Sultan the nobles placed the purse of money, given by Sultan, on their shoulders then bowed down in front of the Sultan.⁶⁸

It was customary for the nobles to make presents to the Sultans. Gifts were presented to the Sultans on many occasions such as on the eve of victory, when the presents included horses, camels, elephants and even slaves.⁶⁹ The gifts of *wazir*, *Khans*, *Maliks* and *amirs* were presented to Sultan Balban in his court. If the person offering the present was a man of high status *fasl-i-mushabba*, a citation summarizing his services was read.⁷⁰ Whenever a noble came to the royal palace with presents, the *hajihs* (chamberlains) waited on the Sultan according to their ranks. *Amir-i-hajib* followed his *naib*, appeared first, then the *khass-i-hajib* followed with his *naib*, and then *wakil-i-dar* (court secretary) also followed with his *naib* and then *saiyyid-ul-hujjab* and *sharaf-ul-hujjab*. For high ranked noble, place was allotted in the row of *amir-i-hajib* otherwise he stood behind him. If the person who presented gift was holding equal status, the Sultan shook hands and even embraced him. In return, the Sultan also granted him robe of honour.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 19; Eng. tr., p. 18; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 36-37; Eng. tr., p. 448; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 222; Eng. tr., Roy, pp. 100-101; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 171; Eng. tr., pp. 388-389; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 77; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, pp. 32-33; Yusuf Husain, *Indo-Muslim Polity*, Simla, 1971, p. 178.

⁶⁶ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 731; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 64, 114; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 77.

⁶⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 131.

⁶⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 32, 108; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 160, 268; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 78; M. Aziz Ahmad, 'The Central Structure of the Sultanate of Delhi', p. 70.

⁷⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 32, 113.

⁷¹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 59; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 199-200; Nizami, *Royalty*, pp. 92-93.

When Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq reached near Firozabad, after gaining victory, the *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan forwarded presents as *nazrana*. Banners were erected all around the capital city and night was celebrated as *Id*. On next morning, everyone presented himself in front of the royal court. Khan-i-Jahan then paid obeisance to the Sultan. Then gifts of Khan-i-Jahan (*wazir*) and the presents of Malik-ul-Sharq Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk (*naib wazir*) were brought. Later on, the presents offered by all other *Khans*, *Amirs*, *Ulemas*, theologians and general public were brought before the Sultan.⁷²

The provincial officials or *muqtas* brought large amounts of gifts for the Sultan. They presented golden and silver utensils in the form of bowls, ewers, and other things. They also brought with them gold in the shape of bricks which they called *khisht*. Sultan's slaves called *farrash* (valets) stood in a row holding in their hands articles from among the presents. Then the elephants among the gift were brought, leading to the saddles and bridled horses, mules, and camels, laden with money at last.⁷³

Whenever a noble absented himself from Sultan's palace for a number of days, with or without his permission, he had to offer a present before the Sultan according to his ranks and positions. The gifts included horses, camels, weapons and other things.⁷⁴ Raja of Bhatta sent an elephant, two ass-loads of fine cloth and a decorated tent (embroidered and made in Bengal) to Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan as a *peshkash*. *Silahdar* Shaikh Muhammad submitted Raja's petition (*ariza*) to offer this *peshkash*.⁷⁵

As far as the attitude of the nobles and their behaviour towards the Sultans is concerned, it is recorded that Jamaluddin Yaqut, the Master of the horse, became her confident and trusted adviser to such a point that whenever Sultan Razia rode horse or elephant, she used to rest upon his arm or shoulder.⁷⁶

The noble Malik Ibrahim, *naib barbak* had good conduct and pious intentions towards the Sultan. If Firoz Shah observed a voluntary fast, he did the same. If the

⁷² Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 290.

⁷³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 603; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 60.

⁷⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 603, 659-660; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 78; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁷⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 96-97.

⁷⁶ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 120.

Sultan missed his betel leaf, he would also not take the betel leaf either.⁷⁷ Similarly Tatar Khan's behaviour towards the Sultan is worth mentioning. Tatar Khan was the eldest and senior most noble of the Tughlaqs. He was so close to the Sultan that he even caught hold of the arm of Sultan Firoz Shah to forcibly seat him on the throne when the latter refused to assume the sovereignty. The Sultan was in habit of drinking wine. Once when he was just ready to commence the drink, he was informed that Tatar Khan had come to meet him. When he entered the camp, Sultan concealed the wine and vessels below the bed and sat on the carpet, so that Khan could not see it. Tatar could sense the situation, sat silently and then advised Sultan not to take wine. The Sultan considered it as against the decorum and sent Tatar Khan to Hisar Firozah to avoid his presence.⁷⁸ Imad ul-Mulk Bashir Sultani, the *ariz-i-mamalik* was extremely devoted noble of Sultan Firoz Shah. He was so much close to the Sultan that he could meet the Sultan at any time to consult the matters.⁷⁹

The behaviour of the nobles towards other officials is also of some significance. When Jalaluddin Khalji was a Malik, he neither punished people nor taken away assignment from any of them nor dismissed anyone of those whom he had patronized and exalted.⁸⁰ Unlike him was Malik Ibrahim, *naib barbak* to Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who was very strict towards the *muqtis* and ordered the functionaries of his household to view the account submitted by them. If there were outstanding dues against any *iqtdar*, he was to be brought before him and then he would take off the turban of the *muqta* which was returned back only after the payment of defaulted amount. In the absence of Sultan, Malik Ibrahim remained in the royal palace at Delhi while Khan-i-Jahan as deputy of the Sultan looked after the affairs of the Sultanate. On the arrival of Khan-i-Jahan, Malik Naib too showed great respect and behaved courteously and politely, even walked a few steps while welcoming him.⁸¹ Mian Zainuddin, a Lodi noble, was much disposed towards other nobles and friends.⁸²

Masnad-i-Ali Husain Khan entitled Khan-i-Jahan Lodi use to pay the salary and allowances of the man who died in service to his son and in case, he had no son, to his brother or the son of sister or the sister-in-law, or any one of them who survived

⁷⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 429-430; Eng. tr., p. 236.

⁷⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 46, 78, 146, 148.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 437-438; Eng. tr., p. 239.

⁸⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 194; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 99.

⁸¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 430-431, 432-433; Eng. tr., p. 236, 237.

⁸² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 73-74; Eng. tr., pp. 76-77.

him.⁸³ Said Khan Yusuf Khail, a Lodi noble, was much generous towards his officials Mian Farmuli provided one lakh gold *tankahs* for the arrangement of the marriage ceremony of daughter of the *vakil*. Thus, the nobles were generous towards their subordinates.⁸⁴

An important *parwana* issued by Qutbuddin Aibek to Malik Husamuddin Ughlabak regarding his appointment as deputy *sipahsalar* of Kol, highlights the fact that the *sipahsalar* should behave accordingly to his soldiers and look after their interest.⁸⁵ Accordingly, Malik Imad-ul-Mulk, *rawat-i-arz* under Balban, was much concerned for his soldiers and took care of them. If a trooper possessed a weak horse, he gave him a healthy horse from his own *paigah* along with fifty *tankahs* for the up keeping of the horse.⁸⁶ Imad-ul-Mulk *rawat-i-arz* invited all the officials of *diwan-i-wazarat* for the feast at his palace and awarded them robes with twenty thousand *tankahs* from his own treasury. Fifty to sixty persons were appointed for preparing and distributing *pan* in his *diwan* (office).⁸⁷ Evidence avers that Sultan Balban punished two high ranked nobles for cruelty on their personal slaves when Malik Baqbaq, *muqti* of Badaon, killed his *farrash* (in-charge of floor coverings) in a state of intoxication, and Haibat Khan, *muqti* of Awadh, who killed a man from his *iqta*.⁸⁸

It is mentioned that Malik Said Khan Yusuf Khail, distinguished Lodi noble, distributed seven lakh *tankahs* amongst his troops when they were short of money. In principle, the given amounts had to be deducted from allotted villages of the soldiers but he waved the loan and torn the documents.⁸⁹

Amir Khusrau highlights the behavior of the nobles with each other by recording conflict between Maulana Badr and Ainuddin Dabir. He sarcastically records that though both were men of letters but they were behaving like butchers. They had been using their sharp tongues against each other in the way the butcher sharpen their knives.⁹⁰ Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (*mustaufi-i-mamalik*/Auditor

⁸³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 68, 76-77; Eng. tr., p. 80.

⁸⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 73-7483; Eng. tr., pp. 77, 88.

⁸⁵ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., p. 178.

⁸⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 115-116.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 115, 116-117.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 40-41; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 65.

⁸⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 85; Eng. tr., p. 90; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 83; Eng. tr., p. 474; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 108.

⁹⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 197-198.

General) was considered as a professional bribe-taker, embezzler and a tyrant towards his companions and other officials.⁹¹

On the basis of available sources it can be estimated that large *harem* and large number of slaves were maintained by most of the nobles. Young women and beautiful slave girls were used as mistresses.⁹² The fondness for slave girls among the nobles may be gauged from the fact that the rebellion of Malik Taghi was due to the slave girl. Malik Tatar became hostile to Malik Taghi because he had possessed an Arab horse and a Gujarati slave girl. To defend his slave girl, Malik Taghi rebelled against Tatar Khan.⁹³ The nobles took large number of slave girls with them even when they were on military expeditions. These slave girls would ride on horses and followed their masters.⁹⁴ Ibn Battuta confessed that he always kept his slave girls in his company.⁹⁵

Malik Hindu Khan loved and cared all the slaves of Sultan Iltutmish like father.⁹⁶ Similarly Imad ul-Mulk, the leading noble of Sultan Firoz Shah, had a very lenient attitude towards his slaves. When Imad-ul-Mulk grew old, he sought his own release from Sultan, as he was the slave of Sultan and then released all his slaves numbering about four thousand. He even granted much wealth and gold to each of his domestic slave to live comfortably with freedom.⁹⁷ Noble's attitude towards the slaves can be better judged by their behaviour that they brought up these slaves like their sons, arranged for their education and training, food and drink, and dress etc. After giving the training in etiquette (during their upbringing), they were presented before the Sultan.⁹⁸ Mian Zainuddin provided training to his *harem* ladies and slaves. It is said that none of his slaves and slave-girls were careless in offering prayers. Whenever a girl or a slave boy was brought for him from the *bazaar*, he placed her or him under the charge of a tutor for teaching them prayer and the tenants of Islam. After formal education, the duties were assigned to them.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 457-492.

⁹² Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 234-235.

⁹³ Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 290.

⁹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 392-394; Riaz ul-Islam, 'The Age of Firuz Shah', *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, July, 1950, p. 40; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 143; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁹⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, p. xxv.

⁹⁶ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 248-249; Eng. tr., p. 745.

⁹⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 444; Eng. tr., p. 243.

⁹⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 268-269, 271-273; Eng. tr., pp. 157-158, 159.

⁹⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 74.

The noble's behaviour with the common people and concerned subjects was on the footsteps of the Sultan. A *parwana* issued by Qutbuddin Aibek to Malik Husamuddin Ughlabak (1193 A.D.) casts light on the concern that the Sultan or his deputy in India had for the welfare of common people. The *sipahsalar* (or governor) of the *khitta* Kol (Aligarh) has been directed through the *parwana* to provide protection to the *raiyat* and the traders and ensure impartial justice under his rule. He would earmark some portion of money out of the revenue for distribution in charity to deserving persons. Every effort should be made to render the roads safe and protect the highways and bridges for the convenience of traders who serve as liaison between different countries. The worthy and virtuous people should not be neglected. The travellers and guests should be looked after and no discrimination be made between the rich and poor in this regard. Money should be served for charitable purposes.¹⁰⁰ Similarly another important document issued on the occasion of the appointment of Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, preserved in *Insha-i-Mahru* shed significant light on the duty of a governor for the public welfare and other generous acts. The document explains justice, beneficence, public welfare, liberalities as the guiding principles of the state. The document permit Mahru to undertook the affairs of the state, building the cities and made arrangement for the comfort of the public and the welfare of the common people.¹⁰¹

The noble's concern for the safety of common people and peasantry is evident from the early account of Hasan Nizami. The author referred to the chief *Sadr* Qiawammu-ul-Mulk and recommended that he had passionately devoted for the cause of charity and general beneficence. He had kept himself well informed about the intricacies of problems of the general people.¹⁰² Sultan Iltutmish appointed one of his trusted noble Malik Tajuddin Sanjar-i-Gazkal Khan as the governor of Uchch. As a governor, Malik Tajuddin made efforts for the development and prosperity of the territory and brought together both the categories of respected one and the common people. Being a just administrator, he provided safety and security to peasantry as well as the common people alike.¹⁰³ Likewise, Malik Saifuddin Aibek, other Turkish

¹⁰⁰ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr. p. 172; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 49; Idem, *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life and Conditions of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 167-189.

¹⁰¹ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 3, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰² Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., p. 107.

¹⁰³ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 232-233; Eng. tr., p. 724.

noble of Sultan Iltutmish, gained his name and fame in his assigned territory on the basis of his benevolence and care to the safety of the people. When Sultan Iltutmish made him the *sar-i-jandar* (Chief of the *jandars*) with three lakh *jitals*, in advance, for maintenance of his position, he joined the office against his wishes. On Sultan's enquiry about his reluctance, Malik Saifuddin explained that his attachment with an office of affliction incite fear in him that he would not be able to practice blood-shedding, torture, extortion and oppression upon Muslims and the subjects (i.e. Hindus). Malik Saifuddin prayed, further, to the Sultan for assignment of other official works. Consequently, Sultan Iltutmish showed great reliance on him and gave him the *iqta* of Narnul.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Balban) was famous for his concern to the well-being of his subjects. He made attempts for the prosperity of the *vilayet* under his possession.¹⁰⁵ Malik Qutbuddin Alvi, the *naib-mamalik* to Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, behaved with the common people so kindly that it would not be expected from such a high ranked noble.¹⁰⁶ There was competition in generosity towards the people, among the Shamsi slaves, that if someone informed that a particular Malik gave two hundred *tankahs* as *sadqa*, the other would try to give four hundred *tankahs*.¹⁰⁷

The contemporary records also shed light on the noble's behaviour towards the needy and the deserving people. The reference indicates that once a poor and unemployed father of some daughters came to Syed ul-Hujjab, entitled Malik Maruf, for his help to arrange the marriages of his daughters. Malik advised him to pass in the royal procession with some wheat in his hand. The poor man did the same. Then Malik took wheat from his hand and presented to the Sultan. Sultan Firoz kissed them with his eyes and asked the demand of that person. The Malik then explained the matter and succeeded in fixation of a *tankah* daily as *zakat*.¹⁰⁸ However, on the basis of benevolence, the nobles enjoyed the support of the common people.¹⁰⁹

The hagiographical work *Khair-ul-Majalis* records the noble's behavior towards a common man. Once Malik Shah bin Alp Arsalan was on hunt, his officials caught hold of a cow (belonged to an old man), slaughtered and ate it. When the latter

¹⁰⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 237; Eng. tr., pp. 729-730.

¹⁰⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 202.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁰⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 448-449.

¹⁰⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

approached to the noble, he was given eighty cows in compensation of that one while culprit officials were ordered to be hanged. Further, after an inquiry of the dependants of the old man, stipends were fixed for them and subsistence for him to the extent of his needs.¹¹⁰ Besides it, the nobles maintained large kitchens and distributed free food among the common people and destitute without any discrimination.¹¹¹

Boosted with support from the Sultan and the governors, the people dared to complain about the tyranny and oppression of Tirmizi, the *kotwal* of Delhi.¹¹² Amir Khusrau criticized a wicked officer Maulana Habib who with a Malik oppressed the people¹¹³ and Hakim Shams Sai for teasing and oppressing the common men.¹¹⁴ Similarly, in a letter addressed to Shaikh Raziuddin, Mahru mentions that there was a complaint against the acts of oppression of local officers particularly that of one Kamal ud-din, *muqti* of Uchch. This *muqti* was accused of extracting forced unpaid labour, using vile language, keeping persons in confinement and extracting money from them.¹¹⁵

As for the dinning manners and etiquettes, Amir Khusrau in his *Qiran-us-Sadain* provides a description of how the food was served and the etiquettes observed. First of all various types of sherbets and juices were served then different types of breads, meat and sweet dishes were served and at the end pan (betel leaves) were distributed among the guests in a prescribed manner.¹¹⁶

Further, Ibn Battuta and Shihabuddin al-Umari both referred to two types of dinners: private dinner and public dinner served at the royal palace.¹¹⁷ Special Amirs like *Amir Hajib* (Sultan's cousin and later Sultan Firoz Shah), Imad ul-Mulk Sartez and *Amir-i-Majlis* etc. attended the private dinner with the Sultan. While occasionally, when Sultan wanted to honour the noble, he took a plate, puts bread on it and gives it to him. On receiving the plate from Sultan, the noble had performed the prescribed

¹¹⁰ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, 1959, Majlis no. 42, pp. 139-141; Eng. tr., Prof. Ishrat Hussain Ansari and Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqui, Delhi, 2010, pp. 101-102.

¹¹¹ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 185; Eng. tr., p. 141; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 142-143; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 71, 72, 75, 76, 80, 81-82, 83, 93, 110, 146; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 104; Eng. tr., p. 225; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 94; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 133.

¹¹² Barani, *Tarikh*, Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 63.

¹¹³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 209.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 76.

¹¹⁵ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 18, pp. 41-44.

¹¹⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 183-185; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 69-70.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 64; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 41-42; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 126.

etiquette placed the plate on his left, and bowed his right hand touching the ground. Sultan also sent meal to one who was absent, that person too bowed like the one presented.¹¹⁸

The public dinner at the royal palace was held in the council hall. When the food was served at the carpet, *naqibs* stood up in rows and their chief stood right in their front. The chief *naqibs* then began to praise the reigning Sultan and then bowed before him followed by his subordinate *naqibs*. Same was done by all those who were present in the council hall. At the time when chief *naqib* was praising the Sultan, nobody was allowed to move or speak until the address was over. Then the *naqibs* and all presented persons bowed towards Sultan second time.¹¹⁹

Mushtaqi mentions that seventeen men, including Ulama and nobles, used to took meal with Sultan Sikandar in his private apartment.¹²⁰ While his predecessor Sultan Bahlol was endowed with good qualities that at the time of his meals, everyone who happened to be in the company shared the meal with him.¹²¹

Sultans were reported to have conferred special privileges to their nobles.¹²² Emblems of royalty like trumpets, flags and other standards were adopted by the nobles. Even they were allowed to carry them and also their drums were allowed to be beaten at the time of marching.¹²³ Green or red canopies and robes of honour were bestowed upon the *Maliks* and *Amirs* as a token of personal distinction.¹²⁴ Barani mentions the special privileges maintained by Ulugh Khan (Balban) who was *naib* to

¹¹⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 64; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 303.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 65-66.

¹²⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 62; Eng. tr., pp. 63-64; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 41-42; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 96.

¹²¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 10.

¹²² Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 57-58, 21; Nimataallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 154; Eng. tr., Roy, p. 41; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 90; Eng. tr., pp. 164-165; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-i-Mudabbir*, p. 26 as quoted by Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 48.

¹²³ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60-61, 252.

¹²⁴ Ruknuddin Firoz Shah was granted the fief of Badaon along with a green canopy. Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan was dignified with a canopy of state and a standard in the reign of Sultan Razia. Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah dispatched a red canopy and a robe of honour to Malik Tughril Tughan Khan See Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 182, 199, 243; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 88; Eng. tr., p. 125; M. Aziz Ahmad, 'The Central Structure of the Sultanate of Delhi', p. 70. A Tughlaq noble was favoured with a grant of red pavilion which was specially meant for the Sultans. Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 42; Eng. tr., p. 34.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud. He maintained royal prerogatives, *chatr*, *durbash*, *darat* and elephants.¹²⁵

Sultan Alauddin Khalji raised Malik Kafur to the distinction among the nobles. The army was put under his charge and the nobles were directed to pay their respects to him daily as to the Sultan.¹²⁶ Likewise, Khusrau Khan was distinguished from the other nobles by Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji like that Malik Kafur had enjoyed privileges under Sultan Alauddin. He was assigned *iqta* of Rapri, as a mark of special favour because other nobles were paid their allowances in cash.¹²⁷ Similarly, special privileges were given to the nobles by the Tughlaqid Sultans. Ibn Battuta directly and Barani indirectly refers to the preferential treatment given to Malik Kabir by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. According to Ibn Battuta Malik Kabir was granted privilege of standing behind the throne of the Sultan, being a premier noble, with a fly-whisk in his hand to drive off the flies. He stood high in the Sultan's esteem and enjoyed immense prestige and vast wealth.¹²⁸ Likewise, Barani mentions that none of the Sultan's nobles equaled Malik Kabir in status at court. The Sultan raised him over and above the others, made him the representative of the caliph and addressed him as *Qabul-i-Khalifati* (The favourite of the Caliph). He acted as *naib* in the absence of the Sultan.¹²⁹

Ibn Battuta when explained the *ahawra* or boat of the governor, Ala ul-Mulk, he also referred to his retinue, singers, bugles, trumpets and drums and flutes¹³⁰ as the sign of his *maratibs*. The black banners (with golden dragon) were reserved for the Sultan,¹³¹ the nobles carried the standards according to their ranks and status. Smallest number of banner, carried by a *Khan* was nine and three by an *Amir*. A *Khan* could carry ten horses, while the *Amir* at least two. While on journey, they could carry as much as they could afford without any restriction.¹³² All the *Khans* and *Maliks*

¹²⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 26; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 159, 160-164; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, pp. 150-151; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 63.

¹²⁶ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 116; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 208.

¹²⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 390-391; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 114.

¹²⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 661, 665.

¹²⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 493-494; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 164-165.

¹³⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 9-10; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 17-18.

¹³¹ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 43-46. Peacock feather was the emblem of the Tughlaq dynasty. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 317; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 57-58; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Appendix-J, pp. 625-627.

¹³² Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 43-46.

gathered round the Sultan during his expeditions with their standards.¹³³ Horsemen of *Khans* and *Maliks* also accompanied the Sultan in the time of need.¹³⁴ Ibn Battuta refers the grant of robes of honours to the *Maliks*, courtiers, foreigners, chief officials, *naqibs*, *hajibs*, *qazis* and slaves on the occasion of *Id*.¹³⁵

Every *Amir* awaits Sultan standing outside the palace gate along with his trumpets, drums and flags. *Wazirs* and other prominent *Amirs* with their insignia and troops came behind the royal insignia of the Sultan. After them some other *Amirs* also followed Sultan who, rode in the company of Sultan on *Id* day with their insignia and troops. While other *Amirs* rode without their insignia.¹³⁶ Governor's procession naval procession incites interest. Governor Alaul-Mulk had fifteen ships with which he sailed down the river, carrying his baggage. One of these was called *ahawra* (which contains governor's cabin). In it governor's suite and slaves stood to his right and left, while crew also rowed. In these procession four ships, two rights and two on left, accompany governor's *ahawra*. Two of these ships carried governor's standards, kettledrums, trumpets and singers. On the whole way drums and trumpets were sounded and then musicians sang alternately.¹³⁷ However, in road the procession of the governor, *hajibs* took the lead. They were followed next by the foot soldiers, preceding the governor himself. In front of the *hajib* rode six horsemen, three of whom carried drums, slung round their necks and three with reed pipes. When they approached a village or an elevation in the ground, these six sounds their drums and reed pipes and was followed by the drums and trumpets of the main body of the procession. To the right and left of the *hajibs* were the singers who sang alternately.¹³⁸

To conclude, there were elaborate rules of comportment that defined the interactions between the Sultan and their nobles. These norms instilled feelings of loyalty and obedience among the latter for their rulers. They also shaped the noble's relations with their social inferiors, as well, establishing with them quite similar attitudes of difference and hierarchy.

¹³³ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 115; Eng. tr., p. 86.

¹³⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 109; Eng. tr., p. 83. Here Afif says that about 70,000 horsemen accompanied Sultan Firoz Shah.

¹³⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 229-230.

¹³⁶ These nobles were Malik Nukbiya, Chief *dawadar*, Malik Bughra, Malik Mukhlis, Malik Qutb ul-Mulk, governor of Multan, following Sultan with their insignia and troops, always on *Id* days; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 663-666; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60-62.

¹³⁷ Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 186.

¹³⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 602.

CHAPTER-III

Feast, Festivals and Ceremonies

Feasts, festivals and ceremonies were a restive feature of the court culture of the Delhi Sultanate. The norms and aesthetic standards set by the early Sultans for social gatherings and banquets still prevailed and provided a point of cultural reference. The feasts, festivals and ceremonies were celebrated with great gaiety, provided fun and entertainment and strengthened the bonds between the rulers and the ruling aristocracy. However, the rituals and ceremonies celebrated at different occasions legitimated imperial authority and reinforced the hierarchies in the court culture.

A. Feasts and Banquets:

Among various socio-cultural functions hosted by the Sultans and the nobles, feast was a formal dinner attended by the nobles, dignitaries and prominent persons of the state. The feasts and banquets were pompously arranged as a symbol of royal prestige. It further popularized delicacies and set cultural norms, etiquettes and dinning manners. Thus, feasts hosted by the Sultans and their nobles on various social, political and religious occasions were of much cultural significance.

Evidences tend to believe that the leading nobles emulated the Sultan in hosting banquets on a grand scale. They spent lavishly on entertaining their guests. Generally the nobles used to invite the dignitaries and other *Amirs* at their residences for the feast. Some of them even invited the scholars and poets to attend their banquets.¹ Grand feasts were organized where a thousand people could eat at the mansions of the nobles.² Malik Imad-ul-Mulk Rawat-i-Arz hosted a grand feast at his mansion every year and invited almost all the higher officials of the *Diwan-i-Arz* and presented robes and twenty thousand *tankahs* to everyone. All the guests including his sub-ordinates, *naib ariz-i-mamalik*, *naqibs*, *nawisanda* (accountant) and other dignitaries were served food at the dining carpet. Varieties of food such as meat of goat, roasted mutton, chicken, roasted pigeon, bread, sweetmeats, varieties of sherbets, *fuqqa* (a kind of drink made of water, barley and dried grapes, like beer) and betel (*tambul*)

¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 120; Amir Khusrau *Dibacha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* as quoted by I. H. Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 119; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat* (1320-1351 A.D.), Part I, Aligarh, 2007, p. 247; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 133; Eng. tr., p. 292; Jamila Brijbhushan, *Sultan Raziya (Her Life and Times: A Reappraisal)*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 125; Habib & Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, Vol. V, p. 639.

² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 116; K. S. Lal, 'Food and Drink in Medieval India', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, 1952, p. 195.

were served to the guests. Food was also distributed among the *darveshes*. Customarily, meal was sent to the houses of those officials who could not attend the feast.³

However, nobles and other respected persons used to invite each other at their private feasts. These feasts were usually marked by wine, beauty, music and mirth.⁴ In one of his voyages, Ibn Battuta accompanied the governor of Sind Alaul-Mulk. During the journey meals were served to them with music and songs.⁵ Ibn Battuta, Qazi of Delhi under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, attended several dinners at the royal court, as well as at the residences of the nobles. Once he was invited by Malik Maqbul, *naib-wazir*, at his home.⁶ Likewise when he visited Amroha he was received by the Shaikh-ul-Islam who hosted a banquet to entertain him in the *khanqah*.⁷ Ibn Battuta's detailed account of feasts suggests that large kitchens were maintained by the Sultan and nobles and a large amount was spent on the feasts.

Regarding the feast hosted by the nobles, Ibn Battuta gives an eyewitness account. Once he attended a feast hosted by Khudawandzadah Qiwamuddin Malik Maqbul and observed the etiquettes and manners in serving foods to the guests. The varieties of dishes included a thin round cake or bread and the roasted mutton cutting into four or six pieces. Another dish was round dough cakes made with ghee stuffed with a kind of sweet called *sabuniya*. A sweet cake called *khisht* was prepared with flour, sugar and ghee. The other variety of meat cooked with ghee, onions and green ginger was served in large ceramic bowls. Then meat stuffed *samusak*⁸ and *hashimi*, a dish of rice cooked in ghee with chicken was also served. Before the meal, *sherbet* (drink) was served in golden, silver and glass vessels. The Chamberlain then loudly pronounced *bismilalh* signaling the guests to start their meal. After meal, barely-water and areca nuts were served in accordance with the customary practice.⁹

³ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 115-116; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 159.

⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 243-244.

⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 601-602.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 742, 747.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 736; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 145.

⁸ *Samusak* was prepared with hashed meat and cooked with almonds, walnuts, pistachios, onions and spices, put inside a piece of thin bread, then it was fried in ghee. See, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 607-608.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 607-608; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', pp. 124-125. For details of the feasts see Fazeela Shahnawaz, 'Celebrations of Feast and Banquet by the Tughlaqid Nobles', *Central India Journal of Historical and Archaeological Research (CIJAR)*, Vol. 2, July-September 2013, No. 7, Neemuch (M.P.), pp. 42-45.

It is mentioned that once Hamid Khan, a Syed noble and *wazir* of Sultan Alauddin Shah, invited Malik Bahlul, the then military commander, and the nobles for a banquet in his own palace. Palace was decorated with colourful carpets. Varieties of fragrant food dishes were served here. After the meal, perfumes and flowers were brought for the guests. In the end, betel leaves wrapped in a pack was served to them.¹⁰

Mushtaqi mentions a grand feast, completed in three stages, hosted by Masnad-i-Ali Khawwas Khan, a Lodi noble, who also served under Sher Shah Sur. When Khawwas Khan was posted at Bayana, the military commander Ahmad Shah Sur with retinue of nobles and soldiers visited him. On receiving the news of Ahmad Khan's arrival, Khawwas Khan himself rushed to receive him and took all the nobles to his *diwan-khana* (private hall). He ordered his *vakils* (officers) and servants to serve them accordingly. They first brought ewers and jugs of water to wash the hands of the guests and then they were served bread and *kabab*.¹¹ Second time, as appetizer, beef-soup was served to the nobles followed by a roasted *dumba*, placed before each dignitaries. The roasted meat of castrated goat was placed before other second ranked officials who were few hundred in number. Then in final round, red and yellow soup made of mutton, chicken, partridges and several other birds were served followed by roasted *dumbas*, castrated goats and roasted chicken, partridges and quails with plain rice, sweet and salted rice. The vegetarian dishes, the *pakwani-Hindi*¹² meant for Hindu soldiers and varieties of sweetmeats were served that astonished the guests. The jugs containing about ten or twelve seers of milk were placed with two spoons, each for two guests. In short, the feast continued for two hours. In the end, according to the Indian customs, they were served with betel leaves and perfumes.¹³

Generally nobles provided food to their companions and soldiers during journey or on military expeditions. Mian Gaddi Farmuli had a number of camels for carrying

¹⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 5-6; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 140; Eng. tr., Vol. V, p. 77; Eng. tr. Roy, p. 32; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 8; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 151-152; Eng. tr., p. 338; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 174; Eng. tr., John Briggs, *History of the Rise of Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol. I, Delhi, 2006, p. 320; Halim, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

¹¹ *Kababs* were brought in huge quantity. Thus the guests started eating under the impression that it was the only dish, but the *vakil* of Khawwas Khan informed the guests about the main meal.

¹² The Indian vegetarian dishes has been mentioned by Mushtaqi as *Pakwan-i-Hindi* consisting of *puris* (small fried round bread), vegetables, different pulses, *suhali*, *gulhulai*, *qitehndi*, curd curry, *baris*, *bara*, *pahluri*, *manguri* and *mangochhi* etc. See *Waqiat*, pp. 146-147; Also Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 129.

¹³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 148-149; Eng. tr. pp. 162-164; See also Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163.

the food cauldrons and used to distribute dishes to military officers and soldiers.¹⁴ Banquets were also arranged by the Sultans and nobles on arrival of foreign dignitaries. Once Rana Sanga of Chittor hosted a banquet in honour of the rebel nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at his court and personally served food to the guests. According to the author of *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, Mian Husain Farmuli and other nobles were present at that banquet. Different varieties of dishes were placed on the dining carpet. The Rana Sanga placing a cloth around his neck (in the fashion of an Indian butler) stood before Mian Maruf Farmuli and requested to start meal. Since Maruf Farmuli had never taken food in the Hindu house thus he avoided lunch on the pretext of fast. But as a token of friendship he had taken a pinchful of food in his handkerchief.¹⁵

The nobles, who had their proximity with the Sufi Saints, used to invite them alongwith their disciples at dinner and also arranged *sama* for their spiritual entertainment.¹⁶ However, a feast was hosted by Qazi Hameeduddin, *Malik-ut-Tujjar*, at Awadh in which he had invited Sufi saints and their disciples.¹⁷

B. Festivals:

Muslim festivals, usually, were celebrated with great enthusiasm during Sultanate period and, that too, by the Delhi Sultans and the nobles. In fact these festivals were the anniversaries of some of the most important events in the early history of Islam. The most important Muslim festivals observed by the Sultans and their nobles were that of *Id al-Fitr*, *Id al-Azha*, *Shab-i-Bar'at* and *Muharram*. There are short epistles or notes on *Shab-i-Siyum*, *Shab-i-Qadr* and *Ashura*.¹⁸ Amir Khusrau refers to *Lailat-ul-Miraj* (the night of Prophet Muhammad's ascent to heaven) when he invited his mystic friends to attend *sama*.¹⁹ Likewise, the old Persian festival of *Nauroz* (the beginning of spring) was also celebrated with great pomp and zeal.

Id-ul-Fitr was the main festival which had been celebrated with great rejoicing,

¹⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 82.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 182; Eng. tr., pp. 198-199; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 68; Idem, 'Food Dishes', p. 122. Ferishta mentions that in 1377 A.D. Kharku, the Raja of Katehr invited Saiyid Muhammad, the governor of Badaon, and his two brothers for dinner at his house. See *Tarikh*, pp. 148-149; Eng. tr. p. 265.

¹⁶ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 241; Eng. tr., p. 190.

¹⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 324-325.

¹⁹ Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 58; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as a Source of Social History', *Amir Khusrau Memorial Volume*, Delhi, 1975, p. 156.

entertainment and exchange of gifts.²⁰ Contemporary historians furnish a vivid description of the celebration and festivities organized on the occasion of *Id*. It was marked with great pomp and festivity. Amir Khusrau described that on seeing the new moon the people broke the fast and congregated to enjoy festivities. He further referred to the beating of drum, nine times, to announce the happy termination of the fast. Thus the Sultan, the nobles and the courtiers went to *Idgah* (mosque for *Id* prayer) to offer the *dogana* (two *rakat* prayer of *Id*). On this occasion the young and children usually wore garments of fine linen and silken clothes. The *gulabdarān* (vessels for rose water) was used for sprinkling perfumes and rose water on the guests. Exchange of gifts and sweet dishes was the common practice.²¹ The sixth day *Id* (*Shesh-i-Id*) was also celebrated with preparation of special dish of white fine cakes (*ruqāq*) and *halwa-i-shakar pech* (a sweet dish) were prepared on that day.²²

In the morning of the *Id*, the great nobles accompanied Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq in royal procession with their respective insignia. The nobles with their especial detachment hold their trumpets and flags. Nobles like Mubarak Khan, Bahram Khan, Malik Firoz, Wazir of Sultan, Malik Mujir and Malik Qabula followed Sultan respectively with their insignia and troops. Then other nobles like Malik Nukbia, Malik Bughra, Malik Mukhlis and Malik Qutbul-Mulk came with their insignias.²³

Id-i-Qurban (festival of sacrifice), held in commemoration of the Prophet Abraham and his son Ismail, on the 10th of *Zilhijja*. Minhaj mentions that Balban as *naib* to the Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud offered his *Id-ul-Adha* prayer in the *madrasa* (college) ground at Jallundhar along with his associates.²⁴ Lodi noble Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Sarwani is reported to have celebrated the *Id* festivals in a lavish manner. Huge amount of money was spent. Almost three thousand animals, including

²⁰ Hameed-ud-Din, 'Indian Culture in the Late Sultanate Period: A short study', *East and West*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1961), p. 33.

²¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 325-326; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 306; S. H. Askari, 'Life and Conditions as Depicted in Risail-i-Ijaz-i-Khusravi', in *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. X, No. 1, August, 1967, p. 73; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', p. 156.

²² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 198; Askari, 'Life and Conditions', p. 73.

²³ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60-61; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 364; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 122; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 81; For details see Fazeela Shahnawaz, 'Festivals, Festivities and the Tughlaqid nobles', *The Journal of Social Science and Humanity Research*, Vol. I, Part II, July-December 2013, pp. 222-230.

²⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 210; Mumtaz Ali Khan, *Some Important Persian Prose Writings of the 13th and 14th Centuries A.D. in India*, Aligarh, 1970, p. 125; S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 41.

cows, lambs and camels, slaughtered on this occasion for the distribution of meat among friends, relatives, beggars, poor and other people.²⁵

Amir Khusrau provides vivid descriptions about all the important Muslim festivals and ceremonies. The first twelve days of *Rabi ul-Awwal*, especially the twelfth, provided the occasion for holding *milad-un-nabi* and celebrating the day as the Prophet's birth. On this occasion poor and indigent persons were fed.²⁶ It is recorded in *Khair-ul-Majalis* that during the twelve days of *Rabi ul-Awwal* almost every nobles were engaged in distribution of foods among the poor as per their positions which marked as a general feast.²⁷ Khawwas Khan celebrated *Milad un-Nabi* at Jaunpur and distributed *halwa* (sweetmeat) and *sherbet* (sweet drink) prepared with four hundred maunds of refined sugar among the poor and beggars. Few silver *tankahs* were also given to each and every beggar.²⁸ Khawwas Khan, a Lodi noble, once arranged a grand feast and feed the nobles and the entire army consisting of thirty to forty thousand *sawars*, despite of scarcity of food grains in that desolate area where his army was stationed. As per tradition, food dishes included mutton soup and other varieties were served. After food, the guests were served with milk mixed with rice and different types of coagulated milk with different varieties of sweetmeats. Besides, the *pakwan* (vegetarian dishes) for the Hindu soldiers and officers were served along with many other dishes. No space was left vacant on the dining carpet. As usual betel leaves were distributed at the end.²⁹

Likewise a prominent Lodi noble Mian Zainuddin spent huge money on food preparation, continuously for twelve days. Every day he spent 2,000 *tankahs* on food preparations for people, both the poor and rich. On the first and the last day the expenditure on different kinds of delicious food was doubled.³⁰ Another noble 'Masnad-i-Ali' Azam Humayun Sarwani observed this occasion in the manner he observed the occasion of *Id-al-Adha*. He was in a habit of acquiring two thousand copies of the Quran every year and distributed them along with money to students.

²⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 86; Eng. tr. p. 91; Hameed-ud-Din, 'Indian Culture', p. 33; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 122.

²⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 143; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 122.

²⁷ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 252-253; Eng. tr., p. 198; Reference to the *Urs* is also available to us from Ikhtisan. See Mohammad Bin Sadr Taj Abdusi Akhtasan Dehlavi, *Basatin-ul-Uns*, Edition and Annotations by Prof. Nazir Ahmad, New Delhi, 2010, p. xx.

²⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 150; Eng. tr. p. 165.

²⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 146-147; Eng. tr., pp. 160-61.

³⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 72; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 122.

Mian Sulaiman Farmuli had distributed cash among the needy people.³¹

Following the celebrations of *Milad un-Nabi*, certain nobles also observed the death anniversaries of the Sufi saints. A *Parwana* of the reign of Firoz Shah throws light on the celebration of *Urs* of the saints by the nobles. The document state that Ala Khan, brother of Ali, communicated to the *muqta* and *karkuns* of *shiq* Sandila that *mauza* Dahakwa in the administrative jurisprudence of the said *shiq*, had been confirmed in the names of Imam Zamamin, Alim al-Din Hamid Muhammad and Taufiq Nabi as *wazifa*. The taxes, *wujuhat* and *awarizat*, of the village (*mauza*) Dahakwa had been sanctioned for meeting the expenses of the *Urs* of Hazrat Shaikh Farid al-Haq.³² (See Appendix-C) The Lodi nobles used to spend lavishly on the *urs* of their saintly ancestor, Shaikh Muhammad Salman (a non-Afghan Sufi, buried in Farmul in Afghanistan). Some of them offered *fatiha* (prayers) for his soul and distributed sweetmeats whenever they had to participate in the battle.³³

The nobles as a token of their respect towards the Sufis used to visit their shrines. Mian Zabaruddin used to visit the shrine of Hazrat Sultan-ul-Mashaikh Nizamuddin Auliya on every Wednesday and held the *sama* party on the bank of Jamuna. He also visited along with his friends to *Qadamgah-i-Hazrat Risalat Panah* (the shrine where the foot prints of the Prophet were preserved) on every Thursday.³⁴

Besides the two *Ids* festival, *Shab-i-Bar'at* was also celebrated with great élat and enthusiasm. It was considered the day of blessings. The 14th day of the month of *Shaban* and the night preceding the 15th is generally called *Shab-i-Bar'at* which is appropriated to the commemoration of the dead ancestors and saintly personages. On this occasion they made offerings and oblation to the deceased personages. People send salutations as numerous as the prayers of *Shab-i-Barat* and good wishes as numerous as the *durud* of the *Mah-i-Shaban* and makes the following submission. Tonight the moon of the 14th of the month has turned the darkness of the night of *Shab-i-Barat* into a light so bright that this night can be considered a replica of the sun's diary. It was believed that Divine predestinator bestows what is necessary for the support of life on the 14th of *Shaban*, thus the night after it also called *Shab-i-*

³¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 82, 85.

³² Document dated 753 A. H. / 1352 A. D., preserved in National Archives of India, New Delhi, CAD (1352-1754), Vol. II, Acc. No. 1383.

³³ Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, ed. Imam al-Din, Dacca, 1964, p. 98; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, pp. 84-85; Idem, 'Food Dishes', p. 122.

³⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 76.

Bedari or nocturnal vigils. Amir Khusrau in his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* records that “commission or assignment of various kinds occurred on the occasion along with exemptions and immunity”. Thus, he described the 14th night of the month of *Shaban* as *Lail-i-Mubarak Barat* and *Rozi-i-Qismat-i-Mubarak*, referred to the observance of manifold prayers and night vigils.³⁵

Usually the people, according to his means, sent lamps to the mosques for illumination. Amir Khusrau also wished to burn the lamp of light in his own house and enlighten it with prayers.³⁶ On this occasion of *Shab-i-Bar'at* four temporary structures (*alang*) were constructed under the names of *alang-i-khass* (rescues for the Sutan), *alang-i-malik Naib Barbak*, *alang-i-Malik Ali*, and *alang-i-Malik Yaqub*. On all these structures drums and bands (*tabal wa damamah*) were beaten, and the entire ground was so well-illuminated that it looked like a bright day with large numbers of earthen lamps (*chiraag*) and flames (*mashal*). On the bank of Jamuna, the boats were decorated with lamps which created beautiful reflection on the water. Drums were beaten and bands were played for three nights of the 13th, 14th and 15th Sha'ban. Members of royal family, nobles, officials, commoners and other people gathered to watch the fireworks and lightening at *Kaushak-i-Nujul* (place of alighting) at Firozabad palace that turned the night into day. Princes, *khans* and *maliks* were all present on this festivity. As part of entertainment, boat race had been arranged on Jamuna on this occasion.³⁷ Thus, the festival was celebrated with great pomp and show. However, the festival *Shab-i-Barat* was celebrated under the influence of the Hindu festival *Shiva-ratri*, considering this night vigil and fireworks common to both the festivals while Islamic law has not permitted the fireworks.³⁸

The month of *Ramzan* was the month of fasts which was broken at evening with such kinds of drinks as *fuqqa* (made of water and barley, and often of grapes) *dasta-i-*

³⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 325; Eng. tr. p. 304; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 39.

³⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 324; Eng. tr. Vol. IV, p. 304; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 89-90.

³⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 365-366, Eng. tr., pp. 205-206; Akhtasan, *Basatin-ul Uns*, pp. xx, 149; Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughlaq*, p. 165; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 122; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 241-242; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 89-90; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 82; Roy, 'A Peep into the Delhi Court', p. 317.

³⁸ Yusuf Husian Khan, 'Social and Economic Conditions in Medieval India', *Islamic Culture*, January 1956, Vol. 30, Hyderabad, p. 7; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 89-90.

nan, band sweets named *zaliba-i-nabat (jalebi)*, *lozina* (a confection of almonds)³⁹ and juicy fruits melons and sugar candy.⁴⁰ Food was distributed among the poor at the time of *iftar* and *sahr*. Mian Zainuddin distributed the same dishes which he himself ate.⁴¹ Amir Khusrau comments on the prevailing evils of the society and records that even in the month of *Ramzan* the gamblers played the game.⁴²

The first ten days of the first Arabic month *Muharram* were held sacred on account of the martyrdom of Hussain, son of Ali and Fatima at Karbala. The *ashura* was solemnly observed on the tenth day of *Muharram* by means of a voluntary fast.⁴³

Evidences suggest the distribution of alms and charities among the poor and the destitute beggars.⁴⁴ Ibn Battuta mentions that on the tenth of *Muharram*, he himself distributed hundred *maunds* of flour and an equal amount of meat to the poor.⁴⁵ Similarly food was also being distributed to feed the people on the occasion of great festivals such as *Id al-Fitr*, *Id al-Azha*, birthday of the Prophet (*Milad-un-Nabi*), on the day of *Ashura* (10th of *Muharram*), and in the night of mid-*Sha'ban* which consisting of a hundred *maunds* of flour and another hundred *maunds* of meat.⁴⁶ Mian Sulaiman Farmuli distributed cash among the deserving people on the days of *ashura*, death anniversary of the Prophet of Islam and in the month of *Rajab*.⁴⁷ However, these occasions involved a large amount of expenditure and soon it had become institutionalized.

Besides Islamic festivals, the Iranian festival also finds place in the Sultanate society. Spring festival *nauroz* was celebrated with great gaiety and mirth. It had a great significance during the medieval period. This was the great festival of the new year's day of the Persian calendar and had been introduced by emigrants from Central

³⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 305; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 40; Idem, *Amir Khusrau Memorial Volume*, p. 156. Minhaj also mentions 26th of *Ramzan* as the *Shab-i-Qadr* (the night of power), he offered prayers. See Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 831; In his *Khazain-ul-Futuh* Amir Khusrau further mentions that *tarawih* prayers were offered on *Lailat-ul-Qadr* for heavenly help. See Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 91; Eng. tr., p. 66.

⁴⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 226-227; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 50.

⁴¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 72; tr. p. 74.

⁴² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 290.

⁴³ Minhaj mentions *Ashura* without any detail. See *Tabaqat*, p. 845. The occasion was regarded holy on historical grounds and the fast was said to have been observed by Meccans of olden times. See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 47-48; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, pp. 40-41; Hameed-ud-Din, 'Indian Culture', p. 33.

⁴⁴ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 328; Eng. tr. p. 307; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 41.

⁴⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 142-143; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 121.

⁴⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 142-143; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 761.

⁴⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 82; Eng. tr. p. 86.

Asia at the very beginning of their conquest of North India.⁴⁸ According to Badaoni, it fell on the first *farwardin* (first month of the Persian year).⁴⁹ Amir Khusrau describes the celebration of *nauroz* in rose garden in his verbose style. He refers to the beauty of the season, fresh flowers, music, songs, wine and the celebration with friends and relatives.⁵⁰

To celebrate *nauroz* pavilion was constructed and *Khans*, *Maliks*, nobles and officials participated in the festival. Poets and singers adorned the festivals with their art and skill. However, it was the most gorgeous and spectacular of all the festivals which lasted for nine days.⁵¹ The religious minded nobles also celebrated it with great zeal by hosting a grand feast and arranging *qawwali* (religious or sufi songs sung by expert male singers). Shaikh Ghuran, a high ranked noble of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, once arranged a festive assembly for the celebration of spring (*Majlis-i-Jashn-i-Bahar*) on a grand scale which seems to have lasted for several days. Feast and entertainment was arranged for friends and guests. When singers and musicians failed to create an ecstatic effect upon the guests, Shaikh Ghuran himself started singing a pathetic song in a melodious voice which had its effects.⁵²

Celebrations of *nauroz* provided the nobility and the ruling elites the occasions for merrymaking and also to display their generosity and munificence. Relevant information reveals that the tradition set by the nobles and the princes of the fourteenth century Delhi Sultanate had been enriched by the introduction of the new ideas that certainly added to the luster and grandeur of occasion. These celebrations, lasting for days, had great fascination for the elites.

C. Ceremonies:

Birth of a male child was welcomed with festivities and presents.⁵³ Mahru congratulated the noble on the birth of a son to him by writing a letter.⁵⁴ In another letter he promised, his son Imad ud-din to send him a robe for the newly born

⁴⁸ Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 65.

⁴⁹ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 261-262.

⁵⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 329-330; Eng. tr. Vol. IV, pp. 307-308; Askari, 'Life and Conditions', p. 73; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 124.

⁵¹ Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 124.

⁵² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 110-111; Eng. tr. p. 119; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 65.

⁵³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. V, p. 251; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 57; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', p. 155; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 106, pp. 196-197.

grandson Nizam ud-din Mahru.⁵⁵ Astrologers were asked to prepare horoscopes and make prediction about the future of the child.⁵⁶

The happiest social ceremony was that of marriage, at which the high as well as the low rank nobles spent lavishly. The wedding functions held by the members of the ruling elite class and the nobles were always lavish. Even a second ranked officer performed the marriage ceremony of his children on a grand scale. The marriage ceremony of Qutbuddin Aibek and daughter of Malik Tajuddin Yalduz, governor of Kirman, was celebrated with great splendor.⁵⁷ Malik Aitmar Turk is mentioned to have spent more than one lac *jitals* on the marriage of his daughter.⁵⁸ In the marriage ceremony of Prince Shadi Khan with the daughter of Alp Khan, the governors of every province were invited to attend the function at the Capital.⁵⁹

On the occasion of the marriage the *nikah* ceremony was solemnized first. Among the rites *jalwa* (the meeting of the bride and the bridegroom in the presence of the relatives and showing the face of one to the other through mirror) and scattering and throwing money and flowers called *rukhsati*. There are frequent references not only in *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* but also in *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan*, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, *Rehla* and in *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* to some of the marriage rites and ceremonies, ornamentations by the bride, bride's dresser, *takht-i-arusi* (bridal throne) and *hajla* (the bridal bed with mirror and ornament).⁶⁰ A graphic account of the marriage ceremony of an Arab noble Amir Saifuddin Gaddah with the sister of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq has been given by Ibn Battuta.⁶¹ The ceremony was held at the red palace popularly known as *Kushak-i-Lal*.⁶² Ibn Battuta referred to some Indian customs followed in wedding, such as applying of henna on the hands and feet of bride and bridegroom, bridegroom's procession, their false struggle to enter the bride's house, betel given by bride to bridegroom and finally scattering of gold dinars over the guests etc.⁶³ Women guests also applied floral patterns of the henna on their

⁵⁵ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 70, pp. 46-47.

⁵⁶ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 151.

⁵⁷ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 62; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 110.

⁵⁸ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, p. 134; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 65.

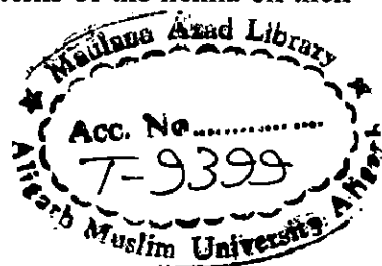
⁵⁹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 335-336; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 516; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 245.

⁶⁰ Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 35.

⁶¹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 686-689.

⁶² Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 74.

⁶³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 686; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 233.



hands on the wedding ceremonies.⁶⁴ Ibn Battuta records festivities and extravagance of this marriage in detail. Malik Fathullah, *shawanawis* (incharge of arrangement for feast), was appointed by the Sultan as over all incharge. During these days of festivity principal *amirs* and distinguished foreigners were present night and day.⁶⁵ Two nights before the wedding procession, ladies (of Sultan's palace) reached Red Palace and surrounded the bridegroom Amir Saifuddin and installed him on a cushion.⁶⁶ Then, they applied henna on his hands and feet and all the ladies stood behind him sung and danced. At the wedding palace, principal companions of Amir Gaddah remained with him. Sultan classified the nobles into two groups, one as members of Amir Gaddah's party and the other as the bridal party. After henna ceremony, bridal party reached before the gate of the palace where bride would unveil herself to bridegroom, and bridegroom. As an entertainment ritual, a mock fight had made with bridal party. In case of defeat, they had to pay thousands of *dinars* to the bride's party. On wedding day a ceremonial robe of blue silk embroidered with jewels and turban, was brought to Amir Saifuddin Gaddah.⁶⁷ Amir Khusrau mentions *mahr* (money paid to the bride at the time of marriage) given to bride.⁶⁸

On wedding evening, bride and bridegroom were installed on a high pulpit in the audience hall. Bride was dressed in decorated brocade hangings covered with precious jewels. She extended betel to bridegroom. Then gold *dinars* were thrown as *nisar*. Following the Indian custom, drums, bugles and pipes were sounded outside the palace gate while female musicians were singing inside. On *rukhsati*, the bridegroom mounted on horse while bride sat in a palanquin and *dinars* were thrown upon them. As per prevailing custom, wherever this marriage procession crossed the house of an *amir* or noble of rank, he came out to salute them and scattered over them gold and silver coins.⁶⁹ On very next day, robes and gold and silver coins were sent by bride to all of the companions of bridegroom. A horse with decorated saddle and bridle and a purse of silver coins were presented to them all by the Sultan. Malik Fathullah, the incharge of this ceremony also presented silk robes and purses to the

⁶⁴ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 148.

⁶⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 686; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 121.

⁶⁶ Amir was without his relatives, so these ladies acted as his relative on the order of Sultan.

⁶⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 686-687; Nizami, *Royalty*, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 93; Vol. IV, pp. 222-223.

⁶⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 688-689; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 133.

ladies and musicians.⁷⁰ Thus, women were the dominating element during the marriage ceremony. They took part in all ceremonies during the marriage, sing songs and also rode on horseback in the bridal procession.⁷¹ Rich presents were offered by friends and relatives to the married couple.⁷²

Ibn Battuta records the marriage of two daughters of the *wazir* Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz (Turk by race) with the two sons of Khudawand Zadah Qiwanuddin (Iranian immigrant to the court) arranged by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. In the absence of *wazir*, the Sultan with his royal retinue reached the residence of the *wazir* and attended the ceremony and acted as guardian on behalf of the *wazir*. Grand Qazi read the statement of the dowry. Thus, Sultan handed over all the things specified in the dowry agreement to the *qazi*. Then rests of the ceremonies were solemnized by the high ranked nobles because *wazir* Khwaja Jahan himself was not present.⁷³

Festivities during the marriage ceremony of the son of Shaikh Ghuran, a non-Afghan noble of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, lasted for several days. Mushtaqi records the generosity of the nobles that on the occasion of marriage ceremony of his son, Shaikh Ghuran paid seventy thousand *tankahs* to the singers. At the time of *rukhsati*, he distributed one hundred and fifty horses, four elephants and twenty ass-loads of cloth including silk fabric among the people.⁷⁴ However, it is evident that the marriage ceremonies were solemnized on different Islamic, Iranian and Indian customs and traditions which shed light on the composite culture of the Sultanate society.

Funerary ceremony also deserves to be mentioned. On the death of Sultan Balban when his bier was brought out of the *Kushak-i-Lal*, Khans, Maliks and all other courtiers walked behind. When the bier was brought to the burial ground at *Darul-Aman*, Malik Fakhruddin (the *kotwal*), torn his clothes and throw dust on his head. They distributed food for the peace of the soul of deceased Sultan.⁷⁵ The grandees of the state in far flung areas also observed the mourning. Bughra Khan,

⁷⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 689.

⁷¹ Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 133; K. N. Chitnis, *Socio-Economic History of Medieval India*, Delhi, 2005, p. 83.

⁷² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol V, pp. 221-224; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 57.

⁷³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 692; M. Athar Ali, 'Nobility under Muhammad bin Tughlaq', in *Medieval India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture* (Collected essays of M. Athar Ali), Delhi, 2006, p. 32.

⁷⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 110; Eng. tr. p. 118; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 86; Idem, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 68.

⁷⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 122-123. Malik Fakhruddin Kotwal delivered funeral oration as Sultan's coffin was being lowered into the grave. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149, 150.

muqti of Lakhnauti tore his garment on receiving the news of Balban's death. Then he sat in seclusion and mourned for a week beating his head.⁷⁶ When Imad-ul-Mulk, the Muster Master of Sultan Balban died, Hindu Rais joined mourning ceremonies with bare heads.⁷⁷ On death news of Imadul-Mulk, Qadr Khan threw his cap on the ground, tore his shirt right across and cried bitterly shedding tears profusely. Then he went into seclusion and set in mourning for three days and nights.⁷⁸ According to *Khair-ul-Majalis* on the death of a Khalji noble Alp Arsalan, an old man put his head in the prostration and then prayed for his departed soul.⁷⁹

Insha-i-Mahru contains two important documents which shed light on the fact that the condolence on the death of Sultan and noble was offered by writing letters to other nobles and used to visit the houses of the deceased.⁸⁰ If a noble was on an expedition and his relative died then the other noble used to visit his camp to express his condolence.⁸¹ Sometimes they conveyed their condolences to the family of deceased by sending their delegates.⁸²

Regarding the funeral ceremony of his daughter, Ibn Battuta refers that it was customary to visit the grave of the dead person after the burial of the third day. On that occasion, the grave was covered with the carpets and silk cloths on all the sides and various types of flowers (jasmine, *gul-shabah*, white flowers) were spread over it. Besides these flowers, branches of orange and lemon trees with fruits were set up. The people recited *Quran* and offered prayers for the peace of the departed soul. After the recitation, julep was brought by the servants as a drink and finally betel was served to the guests.⁸³

Thus the feasts, festivals and ceremonies were important features of the socio-cultural life of the nobles of Delhi Sultans as well as a restive feature of the court

⁷⁶ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 173-174, 181-182; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 314, 319-320.

⁷⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Kulliyat-i-Khusrau*, p. 48.

⁷⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 245-246; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 415.

⁷⁹ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 140; Eng. tr., p. 102.

⁸⁰ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 13 (condolence letter sent by Shihabud Daula, *muqti* of Badaon, on the death of Tughlaq Shah), pp. 25-27; Letter No. 124, pp. 216-217; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 81.

⁸¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 154.

⁸² It is mentioned that when Sultan Husain Sharqi's mother, Bibi Raji died at Etawah in 1478 A.D. Sultan Bahlol conveyed his condolences to him through Qutb Khan Lodi and Kalyan Mal. In the same year Husain visited Badaun to offer condolences on the death of Sultan Alauddin. See Habib & Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, Vol. V, p. 681.

⁸³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 739; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 80; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Mahdi Husain, 'The Social Life and Institutions With Especial Reference to the Hindus in the Days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq', *Proc. I.H.C.*, Bombay, 1947, p. 297.

culture of the period. These occasions were lavish and a huge amount was spent on them. Numerous kinds of rich dishes were served in a prescribed manner. Some kind of drink was offered before and after the meal with betel leaves. The dishes were served according to the ranks and the positions of the invited guests. Thus these events were celebrated with great gaiety and were sources of fun and entertainment for the ruling classes. At the same time, they also served to strengthen the bonds between the rulers and the ruling aristocracy, bringing them together through display and entertainment. Thus, the rituals and ceremonies legitimated imperial authority and reinforced the hierarchies in the court culture.

CHAPTER-IV

Games and Entertainment

The Sultanate nobles lived a very luxurious life on account of their ranks and positions as well as their financial stability. Games and amusements have been a vital part of their social life. They took repose from the tiresome life and enjoyed leisure. Thus, the strain of hectic military and political activity could be lightened by both the indoor and outdoor games and amusements. Besides hunting, *chaughan* (polo), wrestling, archery, chess, *nard*, *turi*, *qammarbazi* and pigeon flying were played for entertainment by the nobles.

A. Games:

The games may be categorized into two: the indoor and outdoor. Among the indoor games chess was one of the most popular games during the Sultanate period. Sultans as well as their nobles had their special interest in chess. Amir Khusrau has devoted special section on chess (*shatranj*) in *Nuh Sipihr* and remarks that playing the chess mitigates anxieties and provides a pleasant pastime. Considering the technicality of chess, a game of Indian origin, he comments that though quite a large number of people had tried to grasp its technique and acquire command over this game but nobody could acquire mastery.¹

Malik Ahmad Chap, *naib amir-i-hajib* (Khalji noble) used to play chess with much interest.² Interest in chess of a Lodi noble Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan is well known. Keenness of this game has been well documented by Mushtaqi by quoting an episode that once Rajput rebellion broke out in the province of Mian Muhammad Farmuli. He ordered his army to march while himself was busy in playing chess. The reporters used to visit him in intervals to uprise him about the situation but he was not stopping his game. When news of battle arrived then he left the game which he later finished after returning back from the battlefield.³

Besides chess, the other indoor games were dice, *nard*, *gira-bazi* and *kabatain*.⁴ Malik Kafur was fond of a game called *turi* (like backgammon or dice) played in a

¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 291-294, Vol. IV. p. 304; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 192, 290; Idem, *Nuh Sipihr*, ed. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, Calcutta, 1949, pp. 169-170; Eng. tr. R. Nath and Faiyaz Gwaliari, Jaipur, 1981, p. 60; Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, *Amir Khusrau as a Genius*, Delhi, 1982, p. 96.

² Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 156, 179, 185, 190, 203.

³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 90, 94-95; Eng. tr., pp. 96, 101; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, p. 129; Shaikh Muhammad Kabir, f. 138a as quoted by Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 104.

⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 162; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 75.

pavilion which was set up on the terrace of the noble's palace.⁵ Among other games played by the nobles were *nard* and *qammarbazi* (gambling) to which Balban was addicted when he was the provincial governor. The gambling was so common that during the Lodi period a gambling house (*qammar-khana*) has been mentioned by Mushtaqi.⁶

Chaugan (polo) was the most popular outdoor game played by both the Sultans as well as the nobles during the Sultanate period.⁷ Amir Khusrau mentions a swift running Arabian horse which does not need any whipping while playing with a ball in the polo ground.⁸ *Sipahsalar* of Alauddin Khalji was much fond of *chaugan*.⁹ The popularity of the game continued till the time of the Lodis.¹⁰ Often, polo became the bone of contention between two Lodi nobles. References record that once Sultan Sikandar was playing polo along with his nobles in which Haibat Khan's stick hit Sulaiman Khan, son of Darya Khan Sarwani which caused open fight between them.¹¹ *Chaugan* was the favourite game of other prominent Lodi noble, Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan.¹²

Hunting (*shikar*) was though initially meant for military exercise and training but among the nobles it was the popular means of entertainment as well as of displaying their valour and bravery. All the Maliks, Khans and Amirs accompanied Sultans during their hunting campaigns.¹³ Sometimes they went on hunting expeditions with their own slaves.¹⁴ In all hunting expeditions they used to carry their

⁵ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 86; Eng. tr., pp. 190-191.

⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 46, 131, 162, 167; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 203, 264, 290; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 38; Mushtaqi mentions that gambling was strictly prohibited by a Lodi noble, Daulat Khan Lodi in his *vilayet. Waqiat*, p. 81; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 156; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 313; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 104.

⁷ Sometimes it is referred as ball playing. Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 113-114, 203; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 2, 37; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 100, 121; Vol. IV, p. 61, 97, 155, 170, 194.

⁹ Idem, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 89; Eng. tr., p. 65.

¹⁰ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 37, 38, 42; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, p. 31; Halim, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 77.

¹¹ Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, pp. 187-188; Eng. tr. Roy, p. 79; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 58-59; Eng. tr., p. 463; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 163; Eng. tr., p. 366; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 317, Eng. tr., p. 417-418; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 182.

¹² Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 475; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 90; Eng. tr. p. 96.

¹³ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 318, 320, 322-323, 325; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 752-755; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 435; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 663-664; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 201; K. P. Sahu, 'Hunting as a Pastime During the Turko-Afghan Period', *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. XIII, August 15, 1970, Ranchi, p. 41.

¹⁴ Malik Shah bin Alp Arslan went on hunting expedition with his slaves. Cf. Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 139-141; Eng. tr., p. 101.

tents and canopies and a big crowd of porters and attendants.¹⁵ Even some of the Maliks and Khans would carry provisions of food and drink.¹⁶

Evidence sheds light upon the hunting etiquette and norms. Once Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq went for hunting accompanied by the prominent nobles such as Nasiruddin (who came from Lakhnauti), Tatar Khan, Malik Safdar, Malik Hoshang, Lala Bahadur, Lala Karana, *Sar-i-dawatdar* of Sultan and other officials like Malik Shadi Satlia, Malik Maqbul, Malik Naib Barbak, Malik Mukhlis-ul- Mulk, Malik Daulat Shah Butmari and Malik Taghi.¹⁷ As a prescribed norm, the noble's tents have been pitched in a distance from the royal tent differentiated by the colour. The tents of the nobles were white in colour and embroidered with blue while Sultan's tent was red in colour. The *wazir*, grand *Qazi*, leading Amirs and other dignitaries of the state joined Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq in the hunting expeditions.¹⁸

The Delhi Sultans established a well organized hunting department.¹⁹ Under Sultan Firoz Shah *Amir-i-shikar* was holding higher position and Malik Dilan was the Chief of hunting department, called *Amir-i-Shikar*, while Malik Khizr Bahram was his deputy (*naib*).²⁰ These officials were included in the category of nobles and were engaged in maintaining the hunting establishment.²¹ However, the nobles who were fond of hunting had their own hunting establishments.²² Amir Khusrau records the hierarchy of the supportive hunting officials. The chief was called *mir-shikar* or *shikarbak*. The drummers were known as *tabalbaz*. The word *parra* has been used for the circle drawn to entice the prey. The drum was beaten to scare and fly the birds, then the hawks and falcons were released to prey upon them. Khusrau mentions Taj-uddin and Qiran-i-Malik as the chief sportsmen.²³

Balban as a *Khan* was very fond of hunting and ordered to preserve the hunting

¹⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 752-755.

¹⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 320; Eng. tr., p. 182; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 102.

¹⁷ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salat*, p. 435; Eng. tr., pp. 663-664.

¹⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 752-754; Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh-ul-Asha*, Eng. tr., p. 75-76; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 74; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 102; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 146-147.

¹⁹ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 43; Shihabuddin Al-Umari, *Masallik-ul-Absar*, Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its Own Historians*, Vol. III, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 579-580.

²⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 600; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 316, 318; Sahu, 'Hunting as a Pastime', p. 40.

²¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 318; Sahu, 'Hunting as a Pastime', p. 41.

²² A Turkish noble Malik Qattal had his *Mir-i-Shikar* and trained falcon. Cf. Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 147-150; Eng. tr., pp. 109-111.

²³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 60-69; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 101-102.

grounds which have been supervised by *amir-i-shikar*.²⁴ Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Kurek Khan was skillful archer. It is said that no animal in the chase could escape his arrow.²⁵ Another Shamsi noble Malik Alaaddin Kishli Khan was very fond of hunting and as a skilled hunter he was famous in Hindustan and Khurasan.²⁶ Sultan Alaaddin Khalji permitted Khizr Khan to go to the district of Amroha on an excursion of hunting and pleasure.²⁷ Hunting ground was also used to settle the revenge. *Wazir* Khwaja Mahdi was assassinated by a group of hostile nobles during hunting in the field of Hauz-i-Rani.²⁸

The anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* referred that in his early life Firoz Shah Tughlaq hunted a large number of *gawazan* (elk) and *kotah*. Seeing this his foster-mother (*Daya*) made a provoking observation and said: "The killing of such species of games did not reflect much excellence nor was it an occasion for boasting or glorying for the son of the deceased Sipah Salar, Nasiruddin Rajab, who never vaunted even when he killed hundreds of wild beasts including the ferocious tigers and lions. When he found a pack of lions he rushed upon them alone and drove them off."²⁹

Sultan Alaaddin Khalji once issued a *farman* to Tughlaq Shah that Sipah Salar Nasiruddin Rajab has been killing a large number of lions in his hunting pastime. This *farman* was taken by Tughlaq Shah as an indirect admonition and threat.³⁰

Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi was fond of hunting.³¹ Mian Zabaruddin went to the village of a place called Malcha along with *harem* for hunting.³² Another Lodi noble Haibat Khan was known as the wolf-slayer (*gurg-andaz*).³³ Similarly Mian Muhammad Farmuli used to spend three months in a year on hunting. He hunted wolves and wild buffalos with spears but shot the lions and tiger with the arrow. Mian

²⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 54-55; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 40; Eng. tr., p. 99.

²⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 258; Eng. tr. Vol. II, p. 756; Dharam Pal, 'The Influence of the Slaves in the Muslim Administration of India', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 18, 1944, p. 413; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

²⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 113-114; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

²⁷ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 86; Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 189; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 198-199, Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 267-268.

²⁸ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 70.

²⁹ Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 43.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

³¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 83-84; Eng. tr., p. 88; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 82; Eng. tr., p. 472.

³² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 76; Eng. tr., p. 79.

³³ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 109-110; Eng. tr., p. 33. He received this title *Gurg-andaz* because once in the neighbourhood of Bayana he at once killed two wolves with one arrow.

Farmuli used to hunt the tiger with the arrow so forcefully that it fell down at the spot.³⁴ Similarly, Asad Khan,³⁵ Syed Khan Lodi,³⁶ Bhikan Khan,³⁷ Daulat Khan,³⁸ Qutb Khan (who hunted white deer/*aahu-saped* at Kalpi)³⁹ and Ahmad Shah Bhatti were particularly interested in hunting.⁴⁰

The nobles played role in course of Sultan's hunting expeditions. Malik Ibrahim, *naib-barbak*, a noble of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, was posted to lead the horsemen towards the hunting circle from one direction while the horsemen were led by Malik Imad-ul-Mulk from other direction. The hunting lines were drawn by the troops and behind them marched the chiefs of respective contingents. Sultan rode and chased the animals along with the nobles and horsemen.⁴¹ Afif gives details regarding the hunting of elephants by Sultan Firoz Shah accompanied with Maliks, Khans, courtiers and army men. The forest was surrounded by nobles and army men from all the four sides. Thus, the elephants were hunted down and captured.⁴²

Among other outdoor games Afif mentions wrestling competition on the occasion of *Id*. Isami mentions a wrestler (*pehalwan*) Qadr Khan in the company of Ulugh Khan.⁴³ Archery and elephant fight was the other favourite outdoor game of the nobles under Delhi Sultans.⁴⁴ A group of prominent nobles, Ruknuddin Hamza, Izzuddin Bakhtiyar, Nasiruddin Mardan Shah, Naseeruddin Ali and Badruddin Sanqar Tigin, Malik Muhammad Kishlu Khan (Balban's noble) and Malik Ahmad Chap (a Jalali noble) were expert in archery.⁴⁵

³⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 96-97; Eng. tr., pp. 102-103; Niamatullah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr. Roy (anecdotes from *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* added by the translator), p. 127; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, pp. 130-131.

³⁵ Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 82; Eng. tr., p. 472.

³⁶ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* p. 50.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁸ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 283; Eng. tr., p. 375.

³⁹ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 111.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 321-326.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 167-169; Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, pp. 45-51.

⁴³ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 367; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 396; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 100.

⁴⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 258; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 756; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 113-114, 202, 203; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 23; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 50; Dharam Pal, 'The Influence of the Slaves', p. 413.

⁴⁵ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, Eng. tr. pp. 304-305; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 66, 202.

B. Entertainment:

Nobles drew inspiration from the lives and ways of the Sultans in the social and cultural attitudes and activities. Thus, they became victim of the habit of wine drinking and frequently organized wine parties. They even did not hesitate to drink in the company of the Sultans and their companions.⁴⁶

Sultan Muizzuddin sometimes held convivial gatherings and parties (*batarab wa aish*) in which he distributed precious gifts amongst his nobles. Qutbuddin Aibek received gifts from the Sultan which he distributed amongst his own officials.⁴⁷ Shamsi nobles also participated in the convivial parties organized by Sultan Iltutmish.⁴⁸ The nobles spent lavishly on the convivial assemblies and wine parties. The Shamsi nobles compete with each other in these wine parties. Malik Amir Ali Sarjandar known as Hatim Khan organized wine parties in which he gave charity in state of intoxication which was noticed by Sultan Balban.⁴⁹ Another Shamsi noble, *Rawat-i-Arz* of Sultan Balban was famous for his hospitality. He lavishly entertained his guests in his convivial parties.⁵⁰

Balban, as a *Khan*, was addicted to wine drinking and was fond of giving entertainments (*jashns*). Prominent Maliks, Khans and other well known personages, his friends, *nadeems*, singers and dancers were invited by him in these festive assemblies. He presented horses and robes to his guests. These *jashns* were arranged between the prayers of *zuhr* and *asr*. Special attention was paid on the decoration of assembly hall which was decorated with precious carpets, cloths, colourful *khwans*, gold and silver vessels and curtains of *zarbaft*.⁵¹

Likewise, when Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad started a convivial life, the nobles of his realm attended his parties. His period witnessed tenfold rise in price of wine. Thus, following the Sultan, his ministers, friends and companions all gave themselves up to pleasure and amusement. Barani thus remarked that during three years of his

⁴⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 190, 119, 120, 291; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salat*, pp. 198, 301-302; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 331, 477-478; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 196; A. B. Pandey, 'An Enlightened Despot of the 13th Century', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1947, p. 312.

⁴⁷ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 138-139; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴⁸ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, Eng. tr., pp. 301-302, 319.

⁴⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 119.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 16.

⁵¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 32, 45-46, 67; Nizamuddin and Ferishta also mention that Balban in his youth was addicted to the wine. See Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 39; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 97; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 76; Eng tr., p. 141; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 51. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 313.

reign people had no other work but to seek merriment and invent newer forms of pleasures.⁵²

Convivial gatherings at the court of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji throw light on the convivial life of the Sultan and his nobles. It is mentioned that the *majlis-i-aish* (pleasure party) of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji was adorned with incomparable courtiers (*nadims*), beautiful girls and life-giving musicians. The Sultan laid aside all kingly pride in his drinking parties. He asked his companions (nobles) to put aside their court-dress, take off their socks and sit comfortably in their cloaks (*baarani*/a type of dress which was worn by the nobles when they were at their houses). His close companions were Malik Tajuddin Kuchi, Malik Fakhruddin Kuchi, Malik Izzuddin Ghorī, Malik Kir, Malik Kara Beg, Malik Nusrat Subah, Malik Ahmad Chap, Malik Kamaluddin Abul Maali, Malik Naseeruddin Kohrami and Malik Saduddin Mantaqi. Each of these nobles was known for arranging convivial assemblies at their own palaces. The *ghazal*-reciters of the *majlis* were Amir Khasa and Hamid Raja. Every day Amir Khusrau brought new *ghazals* to the *majlis* and the Sultan who was enamoured of Khusrau's *ghazals* gave plenty of gifts. The *saqis* (who served wine) of the *majlis* worked under the guidance of Yilduz, the chief *saqi*. Among the musicians, Muhammad Shah Changi played the harp (*chang*) while prominent singers were Futuha and Nusrat Khatun and dancers Nusrat Bibi and Mehr Afroz.⁵³

Kuchi brothers, Malik Tajuddin Kuchi, *iqtdar* of Awadh and Malik Fakhruddin Kuchi, *dadbek* of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, are mentioned that they not only attended Sultan's convivial parties but were famous for arranging the parties at their own palaces. Famous artists of the capital city Delhi were always a part of their assemblies. While another noble Malik Ahmad Chap, *naib Amir Hajib* of the Sultan, invited the *nadims* and singers of Sultan Jalaluddin's convivial assembly at his place and awarded them with one lakh *tankahs*. Hundreds of decorated horses and caps

⁵² Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 129-130; Eng. tr., P. Whailey, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XL, Part I, 1871, pp. 185-216; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 84; Habibullah, *Foundation*, p. 157; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 2; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, pp. 156-157. Both of Balban's sons were indulged in wine and pleasures. Barani mentions that Balban called his son Bughra Khan and make him oath that he would not hold convivial parties nor indulged in wine and dissipation. See *Tarikh*, p. 92.

⁵³ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 198-200; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 61; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 140; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, pp. 90-91; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 64; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 99.

were given to two to three hundred people.⁵⁴ Malik Ali Gurshap (later Sultan Alauddin) governor of Kara and Almas Beg arranged a convivial party (*majlis-i-aish*) and enjoyed themselves.⁵⁵ Often nobles organized pleasure party to commemorate victory such was the case of Ulugh Khan who commemorated his victory over the Mongols.⁵⁶

Alauddin Khalji's strict regulations to improve the morals of the people and his firm resolve to give up wine brought about a change in the habits of the nobles. But still drinking parties were organized by the nobles of Sultan Alauddin Khalji.⁵⁷ Isami gives a vivid description of a banquet (*bazm*) organized by Sultan Alauddin Khalji which was attended by his nobles. The fellow-drinkers Malik Izz Yaghan Khan, Khudawandzadah Qirba, Malik Qiran and other eminent governors of the provinces were invited by the Sultan. Guests were entertained with the melodious songs sung by the singers and music played by musicians.⁵⁸

Wine, music, singers and the presence of poets was the special feature of these convivial assemblies of the nobles. It is mentioned that once Bughra Khan attended a party organized by Malik Chajju. Being pleased with some verses of Amir Khusrau, he presented him with a dish of silver *tankahs*. Malik Chajju was annoyed at Khusrau's acceptance of gift and though Khusrau tried to win back his favour, the Malik did not forgive him and transferred his services to Bughra Khan.⁵⁹ Qutbuiddin Mubarak's reign was spent in merry-making, wine drinking and pleasure pursuits. Restrictions imposed on the nobles were lifted. They could invite their friends and entertain them thus they drunk wine publicly and indulged in pleasure.⁶⁰

Important Tughlaq nobles such as Malik Taghi, Malik Shadi and Malik Aziz were fond of drinking wine.⁶¹ Information almost negates the convivial life of the Saiyyid nobles.⁶² However, the Lodi noble were fond of drinking wine and arranging

⁵⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 203-204; Eng. tr., p. 142; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 59-60; Eng. tr. Vol. I, pp. 137-138; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 91; Pandey, 'An Enlightened Despot', p. 312; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 241; Eng. tr., p. 410.

⁵⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Eng. tr., pp. 24-25.

⁵⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 264-271; Eng. tr. Fuller & Khallaque, pp. 15-16; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 81; Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 161; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 75.

⁵⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 313-315; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 490-491; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 276.

⁵⁹ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 158.

⁶⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 384, 387; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 114; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 65.

⁶¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 519; Eng. tr., p. 260; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 411; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 620; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 140.

⁶² Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 179, 204, 211; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 132, 147, 148.

wine parties.⁶³ But Daulat Khan Lodi, *muqta* of Lahore, followed the holy law (*shariyat-i-Sharifa*) to the extent that in his *vilayet* wine, pork, prostitution and gambling were strictly prohibited.⁶⁴

Besides the palaces and mansions, gardens, mango-groves and public-tanks were utilized for amusements and relaxation.⁶⁵ Ulugh Khan used to organize party in a garden. In one of their *majlis* (party) in the garden they enjoyed themselves with wine and dessert.⁶⁶ Ali Gurshasp (later Sultan Alauddin Khalji), governor of Kara has been mentioned to have organized a garden party in which he had invited his friends.⁶⁷ A Lodi Noble Mian Zabarruddin used to hold party on the bank of Hauz-i-Shamsi.⁶⁸ Another Lodi noble Haibat Khan Gurg-andaz organized a party in a garden at Sikandra attended by Dariya Khan Sarwani, Mahmud Khan Lodi and Daulat Khan.⁶⁹

Sama parties were organized by the nobles⁷⁰ which was, it is believed, legalized by Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri and Qazi Minhaj Siraj during their Qaziship of Delhi.⁷¹ It is mentioned that once prince Muhammad (son of Balban), *muqti* of Multan, organized a *sama* party in his assembly and invited Shaikh Usman and Shaikh Kadwa, son of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya. In this *Sama* Arabic *gazals* were sung and his *nadims* used to recite the verses of previous poets.⁷² Isami mentions that Qazi Sa'ad had a *qawwal* Mahmud in his services who sang fascinating songs. Once in a *sama* party this singer sang before the assembled people in compliance

⁶³ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 109-110; Eng. tr. Vol. V, p. 33.

⁶⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 81; Eng. tr., p. 85.

⁶⁵ Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁶⁶ Isami, *Futuh-us-Satalin*, pp. 161-162; Eng. tr., pp. 287-288.

⁶⁷ Isami, *Futuh-us-Satalin*, p. 242; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 411.

⁶⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 76; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 265.

⁶⁹ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 109-110; Eng. tr., p. 33.

⁷⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 169; Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 95; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 338.

⁷¹ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 239; Eng. tr., p. 426; Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 79; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 180. For Minhaj's Qaziship, See, Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 175; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 208. It is mentioned that Sadr-i-Jahan Muhammad Sadiq, Qazi-ul-Quzzat Imaduddin and Mufti Sa'aduddin complained to Sultan Iltutmish that Bhaktiyar Kaki and Hamiduddin Nagauri's indulgence in *Sama* publicly was spreading fondness for music among the masses and, if unchecked, it would soon make the people addicted to musical instruments. Shaikh Jamali, *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, Delhi, 1311 A.H., pp. 164-171; Khan, *History of the Sadarat*, pp. 76-77.

⁷² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 68.

with Qazi's order.⁷³ Mian Zabarruddin, a Lodi noble, held a *sama* party on the bank of Jamuna.⁷⁴

Story-tellers were also attached with the nobles just to pass their leisure time. Like Ikhtisan Dabir, a Tughlaq noble Khan-i-Azam Lodi Khan, listening to the *Shahnama* or *Iskandarnama*.⁷⁵

Associated with Indian culture, the art of dance received patronage from the Sultans and their nobles. Combination of Central Asian as well as Indian dances gave birth to the classical dances. Thus, a slave girl trained in the classical dances fetched a higher price.⁷⁶ In the fifteenth century, merchants moved from one metropolitan city to another with dancing girls for sale.⁷⁷ Thus, both the Sultans and their nobles are said to have maintained troupes of well-trained dancers to perform at their courts.⁷⁸ The leading female dancers of the time were Nusrat Bibi and Mehr Afroz.⁷⁹ A *jashn* held at the birth of the prince in which beautiful Iranian and Indian dancing girls displayed their skills.⁸⁰ A painting preserve in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore depicts Dewal Rani and Khizr Khan enjoying a dance together.⁸¹

A painting, preserved in the Calcutta Art Gallery, depicts the scene of *nautch* party in the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.⁸² (See Appendix-D) Isami mentions that when Malik Shadi had seized the fort of Gujarat, a group of male and female dance performers (*ahl-i-tarab*) requested him to enjoy their art.⁸³ Both male and female singers and dancers under the guidance of Shamsuddin Tabrizi, the head

⁷³ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 119-120; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 232-234.

⁷⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 76; Eng. tr. p. 79. A visitor to the Shaikh asked where it should be permissible that the musical instruments (*Duff*, *Nai* and *Rubab*) would be assembled. He replied that musical instruments were not permissible with unanimity. See Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 42; Eng. tr., p. 32.

⁷⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 90; Eng. tr. p. 96; Hasan Askari, 'Historical Value of Basatin-ul-Uns (A rare manuscript of 14th century)', *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLVIII, Sec. II, Patna, 1962, p. 5; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Ikhtisan's History of Tughluq Sultans in the Basatin-ul-Uns', in *Perso Arabic Sources of information on the Life and Culture of Delhi Sultanate*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 96-97.

⁷⁶ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 51-52; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 84.

⁷⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 80, 203.

⁷⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 46.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 119, 199-200.

⁸⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Nuh Sipahr*, Eng. tr., pp. 379-382.

⁸¹ Bonnie C. Wade, *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India*, fig. 106; *Khamasa* of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, fol. 58, 1597-98, Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.624.

⁸² E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Delhi, 1980, p. 195; Idem, *Indian Sculpture and Painting Illustrated by Typical Masterpieces*, London, 1908, p. 190.

⁸³ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 410.

musician (*amir-ul-mutribin*), were engaged in the marriage party of Amir Saifuddin.⁸⁴

A prominent Lodi Ahmad Khan, son of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani, *muqti* of Jaunpur, had a dance hall built and named the *Talim-khana-i-Akhara*. In this party he along with his associates was entertained by music and dance. In the *akhara*, a group dance in which a troupe of dancing girls, decked with jewels, clad in embroidered silken cloth, would dance with quickening movements holding lit earthen lamps in their palms.⁸⁵ Similarly, composition of *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya* (a manual on music and dance) on the order of a Tughlaqid noble confirms the interest of the nobility in dance and music.⁸⁶

However, music was not only patronized at the royal court and the houses of the nobility but by all people of aesthetic taste.⁸⁷ Despite of the supposed legal ban on music, it formed an essential part of the festivities and source of entertainment and always occupied a distinct place in the social and cultural life of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans. They listened and patronized music ungrudgingly.⁸⁸ Malik Nusrat Subah patronized musicians, singer and artists in his jovial assemblies.⁸⁹

Amir Khusrau discussed music, especially the Indian music in his *masnavis*. Among the ten instances of Indian superiority, mentions in *Nuh Sipihr*, one is Indian music.⁹⁰ In his other work, *Hasht Bahisht*, he referred to a skilled musician who had all four instruments and the twelve melodies at the tip of his fingers.⁹¹ In his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* he described theoretical and practical sides of music, foreign and Indian. He mentioned singers, instrumentalists and musicians and also used many technical terms and different varieties of sounds, songs and modulations. He mentions Muhammad Shah, Khunjashk, Khalifa Husain, Akhlaq and Turmati Khatun as the musicians of the day. Turmati Khatun was a great artist and was in charge of all the Indian and Iranian court musicians. Amir Khusrau also described the instruments like *chang* (harp), *rabab*, *nai* (flute), *daff* (small

⁸⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 78-80.

⁸⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 87-88; Eng. tr. p. 93; for the description of *akhara*, see Sikandar Manjhu, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, ed. S. C. Misra, Baroda, 1961, p. 288.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya (the earliest known Persian work on Indian music)*, Preface, ed. Shahab Sarmadee, Aligarh, 1978; Mrs. Khursheed Nurul Hasan, 'Ghuniyat-ul-Munya-The Earliest Persian Manuscript on Indian Music', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1961, pp. 177-179.

⁸⁷ K. S. Lal, *Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate*, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 242-244; Idem, *Khaljis*, p. 337.

⁸⁸ Dr. M. Qamaruddin, *Society and Culture in Early Medieval India (712-1526)*, Delhi, 1985, p. 79; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.

⁸⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 204.

⁹⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Nuh Sipihr*, p. 61; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 337; Idem, 'Cultural Activity During the Reign of Alauddin Khilji', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 25, Part. I, 1947, pp. 54-55.

⁹¹ Amir Khusrau, *Hasht Bahisht*, ed. Syed Sulaiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1918, p. 34.

tamborin), *shahnai* (a clarion or hotbouy), *balblak*, *babgak*, *musik* (an instrument which is blown by mouth), *udd* (lute), *damsurfi*, *damdama-i-nai*, *dohal-i-ghazi*, *dohal-i-hindi* (drum), *dholak-i-zanan*, *barbat* (species of lute or harp), *qanun* (dulcimer), *raud*, *ajab raud*, *tabal* (drum), *jalajil* (grelots or clinkel) and *buq* (horn) etc.⁹² He also referred a song competition between Khusrau and Indian musicians.⁹³ Since *sharia* did not permit music, it was banned by Sultan Ghyasuddin during his reign.⁹⁴ But situation changed under his successor Muhammad bin Tughlaq when music was played and songs were sung at his court.⁹⁵

Ibn Battuta, *Qazi* of Delhi, was also fond of music and liked to travel in the company of singers. The singers used to entertain him with music on his way from Amroha to Delhi.⁹⁶ Likewise, the singers and musicians accompanied governors while they travelled through ships. But whenever the governor travelled through land, the holders of drums and trumpets led the procession. Whenever the governor proceeded through a village, drums, flutes or reed pipes and trumpets were blown and singers sang alternately.⁹⁷

In the court of Sultan Sikandar Lodi there was a galaxy of musical stars. Passion of skilled musicians compelled Sultan Sikandar to purchase four slaves at the cost of fifteen hundred *dinars* each. They were masters of Indo-Persian musical instruments; *chang*, *qanun*, *tambur* and *vina*.⁹⁸ Miran Saiyyid Ruhullah and Saiyyid Ibn al-Rasul, *Sarparda-i-Khass* (private chamber) interviewed the artists of their competence.⁹⁹

Mian Taha Farmuli had no rival in his knowledge of music.¹⁰⁰ Shaikh Ghuram was an excellent musician and had many friends. It is said that once when he was in

⁹² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 275-291; Idem, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 177-182; Lal, *Khaljis*, pp. 335-336; Idem, 'Cultural Activity', p. 56; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 115; Askari, 'Historical Value of Basatin-ul-Uns', p. 21.

⁹³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, p. 180.

⁹⁴ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, p. 397; Prof. Dharma Bhanu, 'Promotion of Music by Turko-Afghan Rulers of India', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 29, no. 1, 1955, p. 18.

⁹⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 78 (Shamsuddin Tabriz appointed as head musician *Amir-ul-mutribin*); Dharma Bhanu, 'Promotion of Music', p. 19.

⁹⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 762; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 120.

⁹⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 602.

⁹⁸ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 48.

⁹⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 65; Eng. tr., p. 67; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 38-39; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr., (anecdotes from *Waqiat* by the translator), p. 114.

¹⁰⁰ It is said that once a musician was playing a *rurdbin* at his gate and the Mian heard it from inside his house. The instrument had one of its strings broken. The Mian asked the musician through his servant from inside that why have he removed the eighth string? When people examined the instrument they really found the eighth string missing. See Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 176; Eng. tr., p. 193.

Jaunpur he fell seriously ill that he could not take food for twenty days. It was said that his illness was because he was deprived of music. Then singers were called. Hearing melodious songs Shaikh took to ecstasy and fainted. When he regained his senses, he was quite well. Mushtaqi referred that he himself sang songs and possessed a melodious voice. Once he arranged a festive assembly to celebrate the spring festival. His friends along with expert musicians and singers were invited there. Though they sang and played on music to the best of their ability yet none could create an ecstatic effect upon anyone present in the assembly. Then Shaikh found it ineffective, he sat in the centre of the assembly and sung such a pathetic *ghazal* in such a melodious voice that every one of the saintly guests fell in such a state of ecstasy that their condition could not be described. Everyone got moved and excited.¹⁰¹

Thus, forbidden by Islam, music has always been occupied a greater place in the social and cultural life of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans. The Indian music has been considered as religious while Muslim music may be taken as secular, a means of mirth and enjoyment. Since the musicians were attached to the royal court and got rewards from the Sultan, the nobles and officials also patronized them and even liked the company of musicians and singers at several ceremonies at their courts and even in their journey. The compilation of the works based on Indian music emerges as best example for noble's patronage and deep interest in music.

Thus, the engagement in political, administrative and military affairs of the state demanded quite a good amount of strain upon the nobles they took repose from the tiresome life and enjoyed leisure. Thus, not only the games, both indoor and outdoor but other sources of entertainment were vital part of the socio-cultural life of the nobles under Delhi Sultans. Their convivial assemblies attended by their fellow nobles were incomplete without music and wine. These entertainment parties were not only organized in their palaces but were enjoyed in gardens. Thus, games, music, singers, *sama*, dance, story-tellers, acrobats, jugglers were sources of amusements for the nobles of Delhi Sultans.

¹⁰¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 119.

CHAPTER-V

Household and Domestic Life

The nobles enjoyed a comfortable and luxurious life in the Delhi Sultanate. The living pattern of the high-ranking nobles, Khans, Maliks and Amirs, their attire, food and houses were aristocratic indicating their rank and status.

A. Houses, Furniture and other Luxury Items:

Information lacks regarding the exact locations, plan and architecture of the private houses of the nobles during the Sultanate period. Reference suggests that none of the nobles lived in the precinct of the royal quarter rather they constructed their apartments in the peripheries.¹ Besides, the nobles built their mansions wherever a new city was founded by the Sultan. Afif informs that a portion of projected city had allotted to the nobles by the Sultan where they constructed their beautiful and majestic houses.² Thus, the new founded cities like Kilokheri,³ Tughluqabad,⁴ Firuzabad,⁵ Hissar Firuzah,⁶ Kaushak-i-Shikar⁷ and Daulatabad⁸ attracted the leading nobles (*Khans*, *Maliks* and *Amirs*) to settle down there. The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* explains the plan, chalked out by the Sultan himself, of newly founded city Daulatabad where separate colonies were planned to be built for *wazirs* and secretaries, army officials, Qazis and Ulamas, Sufis, merchants and artisans respectively. Separate arrangements were also made to fulfill the needs of the colonies such as mosques, *bazaars*, public baths, flour-mills, ovens and craftsmen shops etc.⁹

Malik Majd-ul-Mulk (the father of Zia Barani), the *naib* of Arkali Khan, built a palatial building at Kilokhari away from the royal mansions.¹⁰ Malik Tirmizi, the *kotwal* of Delhi, constructed the Badaon gate at Delhi and near this gate he had

¹ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 14-15, 35-36.

² Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 126, 128, 313; Eng. tr., pp. 91-92.

³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, p. 142; Eng. tr., p. 285; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 57; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 89; Eng. tr., pp. 160-161.

⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 450.

⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 134; Eng. tr., p. 96; Muhammad Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Eng. tr. Muhammad Zaki, Aligarh, 1972, p. 10.

⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 126; Eng. tr., p. 91.

⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 135, 305, 313; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Roy, 'A Peep into the Delhi Court', p. 313; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 265; Syed Ahmad Khan, *Monuments of Delhi: Historical Study*, Eng. tr., R. Nath, New Delhi, p. 7.

⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 458; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 690-691.

⁹ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 31-32.

¹⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 209.

erected his private palace.¹¹ But during the time of Sikandar Lodi, the leading nobles constructed their houses at Agra in the premises of royal residence.¹² When Malik Bahlol Lodi was *muqti* of Sarhind, he had built a spacious *haveli* there.¹³ A change in the allotment of living space occurred during the time of Ibrahim Lodi when Shaikh Muhammad and Shaikh Jamal were permitted to reside inside the fortification.¹⁴

Thus, the houses of the nobles were situated near the royal palaces and were modeled almost after the royal pattern. According to Afif the residence of Qiwan ul-Mulk was located near the western gate of the palace while Khwaja Jahan resided in the upper portion of the palace of Thousand pillars (*Hazar Sutun*) at Delhi and Jam and Banbh, the courtiers were provided residences near the Sarai Malka which was named Sarai Thatta, after their settlement.¹⁵ The better repose and composure in the houses of nobles reflected more security for them than for the Sultans. The houses of the nobles were spacious consisting of drawing rooms, baths, sometimes a water-tank, a broad courtyard and even a library. Separate apartments were built for the ladies. These houses were decorated with costly hangings and beautiful curtains.¹⁶ Furthermore, the houses of the nobles been plastered in different colours and sometimes the coating of gold and silver appeared on the walls. Various types of figures of trees and other objects were painted on the walls and ceilings of the houses of the nobles.¹⁷ Sultan Firoz Shah records that the painters of the time used to paint the pictures and portrait on tents, curtain and even on the furniture. It suggests the prevalence of paintings for decorative purposes. However, it was a common practice to paint images and pictures on the walls of the houses. Consequent upon, Sultan Firoz Shah ordered to erase all the images from the walls of the houses and palaces.¹⁸

Amir Khusrau informs that the houses of Delhi were well kept and well furnished and looked like the corners of paradise.¹⁹ His evidence sheds light on plans

¹¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, Eng. tr., Fuller and Khallaque, p. 63.

¹² - Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 36; Eng. tr., p. 446.

¹³ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 17.

¹⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 165; Eng. tr., p. 182.

¹⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 63, 64-65, 253.

¹⁶ Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 205, 217-18; Dr. Abha Rani, *Tughluq Architecture of Delhi*, Varanasi, 1991, p. 61.

¹⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 374; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 58.

¹⁸ Firoz Tughlaq, *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, pp. 16-17; Eng. tr., pp. 27-28; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 290, 374; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 310; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 207.

¹⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 28-29, 33-34; Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, 'Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment', *Amir Khusrau Memorial Volume*, Government of India, Delhi, 1975, p. 123.

and architectural features of the houses. Generally the nobles constructed two stories houses with *suffa-i-taq* (vaulted halls), *hauz-khana* (pool of water), *ab-khana* (bathroom or privy), *kitab-khana* (library), *sahan* (courtyard), *dahliz* (threshold), *rawaq* (portico) with lofty pillars, painted walls and elevated facades.²⁰ Amir Khusrau's literary account finds support from a Sanskrit inscription of Firoz Shah's reign that most of the houses were double-storied. The plan of the houses explained with one or two *dalans* or small halls with small rooms and an open courtyard bounded by a wall. Sometimes, the courtyard had *dalans* on all the four sides.²¹

As for building materials, the houses in Delhi were made of stone and bricks being roofed with wood. Floors were paved with white stone like marble. Earlier, none of the houses was more than two storied and some were even single storied. But when the city was expanded beyond the old walls, the new towns differ in building architecture. Now, the multi-storied buildings, sometimes three or four storied, have been built by the higher officials with a small and winding staircase on one side. Most of these houses had attached gardens.²²

Providing the details of the house of Majdud-Daula in which *Sipahsalar* Iftakharuddin, uncle of Amir Khusrau, was staying on rent, Khusrau mentions that at the entrance of the house there was a paradise looking garden. The lofty hall and walls with twelve-arches corresponded the twelve towers of the zodiac. The *hauz-khana* (tank or reservoir) was considerably large. The walls of *kitab-khana* (library) was fully equipped and decorated with calligraphic inscriptions. The pillars of the house were high, straight and fine with wide open doorways. Stairs led to the roof of the house.²³ The guest house, referred as *serai*, was generally built in the compound of the mansion of the noble.²⁴ As for building materials, the houses in Delhi were made of stones and bricks being roofed with wood. Courtyard was surrounded with

²⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. V, pp. 57-61, 87-89; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 57; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', *Amir Khusrau Memorial Volume*, Government of India, Delhi, 1975, p. 155. Privy was in the outer courtyard of the house of a noble. Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 179; Eng. tr., p. 196.

²¹ As cited by Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 40.

²² Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 14-15, 35-36; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 164; Yusuf Husain Khan, 'Social and Economic Conditions', p. 21; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 204. The *Chaitanya Charitamrita* refers to a garden in front of the house of a Qazi, which was destroyed by the followers of Chaitanya. *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Adi, 17th, cited by Abdul Kareem, *Social History of the Muslims in Benga (Down to A.D. 1538)*, Dacca, 1959, p. 190; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 58.

²³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. V, pp. 87-89; Askari, 'Life and Conditions', pp. 75-76.

²⁴ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 69, 87-88; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 30.

the large stone walls. Houses were made of bricks and timber while floors were generally paved with white stones like marble.²⁵

The religious structure, mosques, was usually built in the vicinity of the nobles' quarter. Najmuddin Jilani, a merchant turned *amir* of Cambay, had built a spacious house and a *masjid* in Cambay.²⁶ Ibn Battuta carried on the repair works in his house at Delhi costing four thousands *dinars* and built a mosque nearby.²⁷ Shaikh Shihabuddin, *Sahib-i-Diwan al-Mustakhraj*, employed a unique plan and architecture in his house construction. He first excavated a spacious cave then in the basement he constructed chambers, store-rooms, an oven and a bath. He resided in this care-house for more than two years.²⁸

Sometimes governors used their residential mansions for administrative purposes too. Ibn Battuta met Qutbul Mulk, the governor of Multan at his residence where the governor was reviewing the provincial army sitting on a large carpeted dais. The army commanders and armed men were standing on his right and left. Troops passed in review before him and he was enrolling the archers, troopers and horsemen.²⁹ Ibn Battuta records another important information that Amir Saifuddin Gaddah was being allotted a palace by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq which had been the palace of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji. The palace consisted of exceptionally large audience hall and an immense vestibule. On the entrance gate there was a pavilion which overlooked this audience hall through which one entered into the palace.³⁰

Astonished information has been supplied by Amir Khusrau that sometimes the nobles stayed in the rent houses. *Sipahsalar* Iftakharuddin, uncle of Amir Khusrau, stayed in a house of Majdud Daula on rent for which he had deposited the advance of two and a half month's rent at the time of occupation. A slave girl was appointed by

²⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. V, pp. 57-61; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, pp. 35-36; Askari, 'Life and Conditions', pp. 74-75.

²⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Hindi tr, Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, part-I, p. 274.

²⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 760.

²⁸ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 698.

²⁹ Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p.189.

³⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 77-78.

Majddud Daula just to collect the rent.³¹ Likewise, once Ainul-Mulk Mahru requested the Qazi of Pattan for arrangement of a rent house in that city.³²

Imitating the imperial tradition the nobles under Delhi Sultans spent extravagantly on their household. As for utilitarian articles in the houses of nobles, furniture, bed and beddings, pillows and colourful carpets, geometrical and naturalistic in pattern and embroidered screens find mention.³³ Gold and silver ornamented bedsteads fitted with silk mattress were in use.³⁴ Ibn Battuta gives a vivid picture of the household furniture of the residence that was allotted to him. It was full of all domestic necessities like furniture, carpets, mattresses, vessels and bed. The Indian beds were much lighter in weight. In travel, these beds were carried on by the slaves. It was made of four conical legs with four crosspieces of wood on which braids of silk or cotton were woven. The pillows and coverlets were made of silk. Mattresses and coverlets were generally covered with white linen or cotton slips. Blankets and quilts were also in use.³⁵

During rainy season, they used to sleep on the roof in *khurmaqah*, a cubicle made of wood and covered with blanket-cloth but cots (*palang*) were generally used.³⁶ They used long chairs with silk cushions. The curtains of *zarbaft* and silk, painted with the images and candle-sticks for lightening and lamps were among the necessary articles of the household.³⁷

B. Clothes and Dresses:

As for the dresses, it was below the dignity of the noble to wear linen. Hamid Qalandar mentions that fine and costly clothes form the garments of the nobles, thus, they wore fine silken cloaks in public and a loose shirt in private. Nobles and high officials also wore the *kulah* and a *pag* (turban) and colourful costly robes. Usually

³¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. V, pp. 87-89; Askari, 'Life and Conditions', pp. 75-76.

³² Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter no. 27, pp. 60-61. Letter no. 132 has references to the same matter.

³³ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 318; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 32, 117; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 68; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 685; Idem, *Rehla*, pp. 77-78; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 10; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 7, 102; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 174; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 320; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 59.

³⁴ Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 219.

³⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 117; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 119-120; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 58; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 205-206; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 207, 218-219. Common term for these articles of bedding included the bed was *chaparkhat*.

³⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 117; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 643, 685; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 35, 72, 80, 83, 149.

³⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 32; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 216; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 142, 144; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 34; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 189.

qaba and *dakla* were worn in the winter while silken were in use in the summer season. Dresses were made by the imported stuff of China and Iraq in the *karkhanas* at Delhi.³⁸

Maintaining the traditional and prescribed dress code, the nobles used to wear different dresses on different occasions. On the basis of evidences the noble's dresses may be classified into: officials, formal for public occasions and private wear. The official dress was consisted of *kulah* (head-dress) made of brocade and studded with tiaras and pearls, a tunic made of brocade and velvet, and a white belt. The *khila't* suit was much preferred dress for public occasions.³⁹ The short Indian turban called *pag*, tunic of fine texture (silk and velvet) and ordinary shirt and drawers of fine muslin were the private dress of the nobles.⁴⁰ It is mentioned that Malik Fakhruddin, *kotwal* of Delhi under Balban, used to change a new dress daily which consisted of *qaba*, *yakta* (summer dress), *pirahan* (shirt or the upper garment), *izar* (*pajama*) and *dastarcha* (short turban or handkerchief).⁴¹ Dresses of high ranked nobles is referred as *jama*, *jama-i-rangeen* and *saropa* or *qaba-o-qadha* (head to foot dresses) consisting of *kulah* (cap), *kamar safed* (white waist) and *qaba-i-zarbaft* (garment of golden embroidery).⁴²

Amir Khusrau made sarcastic remarks on different kinds of dresses, thus says that *jama-i-yak-shiqqadar* (the garments with fissures or crevices) which wards off a whole hill of snow, *yakta-i-bahraman* (red coloured upper garment without lining which was very delicate like water and covers the beautiful ones upto the neck), *yakta-i-hari* (silken) which on account of its brilliant glare and fineness resembles the rays of the sun; *yakta-i-chammbartari* which had the quality of covering the defects (of poverty and misery) but had a defect of its own in that its wearer remained naked in spite of putting it on; *yakta-i-parnan*, a green, thin and delicate garment like the feather of the flies; the *devagiri* garments, white and fine like the spider's web; *yakta-*

³⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 273; Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, Assembly no. 54, p. 183; Eng. tr., p. 140; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 30, 39; Dr. Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 143; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 194; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 39; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 52.

³⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Kulliyat-i-Khusrau*, p. 774; Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 33; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 210, 221; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 39;

⁴⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Duwal Rani Khazir Khan*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Delhi, 1988, p. 301; Ashraf, *Life and Condition*, p. 210.

⁴¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 33, 117. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 434; According to Mutahhar it was some sort of cloak or shirts studded with gold. *Diwan*, ed. Abdur Razzaq, Patna, 1998, pp. 157, 188.

⁴² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 136; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 34, 36, 91.

i-awadhi which had become sugar-coloured and stained on account of moisture; the *jama* (garment) of the special wardrobe was harsher (more coarse) than man-minded ones; *katan-i-rusi*, which was harsher than the temperament of the Russians and was narrower than the eyes of the people of Khata (China). The *yakta-i-narma latif* was like the skin of the snake which had been set as a memento and in lieu of that the green *maqna* like *jama-i-chuk* (like green scum or *kayee*). The *dastar*, as thin as water, *kulah-i-chihar taranji*, the rose coloured *yaktai (gulnari)* a piece of long cloth (*katan*) which on account of its being excessively cool was ever in tremor and a piece of *jar-mauji* and one *miyar-i-ma'abari* (turban or veil made in Mabar or Madura) from which water easily came out, and *yakta-i-zabadi* had also been referred by him.⁴³

The types and modes of the dresses prevalent during the period were the *dastars* (turbans) and *ammama* worn by the Ulemas and religious persons. The other clothes worn by them were *pairahan*, *qaba* (sleeved close-fitting jacket or coat open in front), *aba* (a kind of coat or cloak), *jubba* (a species of upper coat, resembling a skirt), *rida* (mantle), *saravil* (a sort of drawer of trouser like *pajama*), *shalwar* (baggy trouser), *lungi* (narrow strip of cloth passed round the waist and thigh), *barani* (a cloth for keeping off rains) and *dotai* (a kind of double cloth). Thick *tabrizi* cloak, the shirt and *qamarband* (waistband) were also worn by them.⁴⁴ Amir Khusrau mentions a cap with three buttons and gold embroidered head dress.⁴⁵ Some of the caps were so delicate and light that they could be blown off the head by the sweet breeze while others were made so heavy that they had better be thrown down on the ground.⁴⁶ A change took place during the period of Lodi Sultans when caps were made of velvet or brocades.⁴⁷

However, the dresses of the nobles were made of soft linen and no one hesitated in wearing such dress. No one was permitted to attend the royal court without boots and headgears.⁴⁸ Sultan Alauddin Khalji imposed high regulations on purchase of

⁴³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, pp. 177-178; Vol. IV, p. 856; Askari, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', p. 152.

⁴⁴ Minhaj, *Taaqat*, pp. 319, 320; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 21; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 126, 196, 209; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 43.

⁴⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 97; Vol. IV, p. 196.

⁴⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 57-67; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 132, 143.

⁴⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 5-6; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 140; Eng. tr. Roy, p. 32; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 8; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 151-152; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 174.

⁴⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 280; Eng. tr., p. 163.

costly cloth from *Sarai-Adl*, such as *tasbih*, *tabrizi*, embroidered cloths with gold threads, Indian silk, Chinese silk, *kamkhab*s, *sushtar*, *hariri*, *bhiram*, *deogiri* and other stuffs without obtaining a license from the superintendant of the market.⁴⁹ In subsequent dynasty Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, following *sharia*, forbade the practice of painting the images on the dresses. Even the dresses of the nobility made of silk and gold brocades, and gold embroidery were also forbidden.⁵⁰

The chroniclers inform us that the dress of army officers, *Khans*, *Maliks* and others consisted of Tartaric gowns, *taklawat* and the Islamic *Qabas* (shirts) of Khwarizm, buckled in the middle of body and turban which were small made of fine muslin. They put on a full sleeves coat of *jukh* (or *banat*, a kind of silk) in white colour. The head-dress of the nobles was square (four-cornered) in shape ornamented with jewels and mostly with rubies. They plait their hair in hanging locks and put silk tussles in it. Gold and silver belts were used to bind tightly their waists and also wear shoes and spurs. They girt the sword only when travelling and not in residence. None of them wore cotton clothes.⁵¹

Usually the *wazirs* did not girt the belts, like the soldiers, but let down in front of them the piece of cloth from the ends of the turban like that of Sufis while the Qazis (judges) wore gown called *farajiyat* that resembles an Arabic garment called *durra*, a loose coat made of red *fur*.⁵²

Evidence reveals that no one among nobles dare to wear *alsi* (cotton clothes imported from Russia and Alexandria) except those to whom the Sultan gifted those clothes. They make shirts resembling the short coats of Baghdad from the cotton thread. But the coats of Baghdad and *nasafis* (an Egyptian shirt from neck to knees) could strike no comparison with the Indian shirts.⁵³ Sultan Alauddin Khalji presented a gold embroidered brocaded (*jama-i-zardozi*) robe with the picture of lion embroidered over it and a gold *qamarband* (waistband) weighing half a *man* to Malik

⁴⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 310; Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 115; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 89; Eng. tr., p. 176; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 113; Eng. tr., p. 203.

⁵⁰ Firoz Tughlaq, *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, pp. 16-17; Eng. tr., p. 27.

⁵¹ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 60; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 33; Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh-ul-A'sha*, Eng. tr., pp. 69-70; Moti-Chandra, *Costumes Textiles*, pp. 142, 143-144.

⁵² Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr. p. 60; Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh-ul-A'sha*, Eng. tr., pp. 69-70; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles*, p. 143.

⁵³ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 52; Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh-ul-A'sha*, Eng. tr., pp. 70-71; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles*, p. 142.

Fakhruddin Kotwal.⁵⁴ Nasiruddin was given such robe which was an Abbasid robe, black in colour, embroidered with gold and covered with precious stones. There was also a turban, matched with this robe.⁵⁵ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq bestowed a silk robe with picture of a lion to Khudawandzada Zia ud-Din, *Amir-i-Dad*. The amount of gold used in its embroidering was shown on a tag sewn inside the robe. The *mihrahi* robe was given to Ibn Battuta by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq having the lining of *mihrab* on front and backside.⁵⁶

However, the nobles used to wear dresses of fine qualities. Amir Saifuddin Gaddah, on the occasion of his marriage with Sultan's sister, wore a silken cloth, blue in colour, embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones. He also wore a cap matching to the dress.⁵⁷ Sometimes Sultan presented his own dress to the nobles even from his wardrobe.⁵⁸ Sultan presented precious robes along with the golden waistbands to his nobles some were even colourful and embroidered in gold *zardozi*.⁵⁹

It was a general norm that the Sultans used to gift the clothes to the nobles along with their wives twice in a year. For making these garments about four thousand silk embroiders were engaged in the royal *karkhanas* during the time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Besides, they also embroidered the cloth which was imported from China, Iraq and Alexandria.⁶⁰

Wearing white dress (*Jamaha-i-safed*) was a distinction confined to the royal blood and to the nobles.⁶¹ Khan-i-Azam Ahmad Khan being the strict follower of *sharia* is mentioned to have put on white clothes and sprinkled two full vials of rose perfume (*qumqum-i-gulab*) upon them. While Malik Naib Barbak ordered to be tailored a loose shirt for himself.⁶² *Jama-i-khwab* (sleeping dress) of Khan-i-Azam

⁵⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 271; Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 171; Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 52; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 82.

⁵⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 675.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 675, 746-747.

⁵⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 79; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles*, p. 143; *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 291; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 466; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 93; Eng. tr., p. 205.

⁵⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 275, 466; Eng. tr., pp. 160-161, 253; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 408; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 618. Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 761.

⁵⁹ Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 210, 243; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 66, 68, 70; Eng. tr., Vol. V, p. 7.

⁶⁰ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 39; Siddiqui, *Perso-Arabic*, pp. 118-119.

⁶¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 85; Idem, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 55; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 87, 88; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 90.

⁶² Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 434; Eng. tr., p. 238; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 87; Eng. tr., p. 93

Lad Khan was made of fine and coloured *malmal* (muslin).⁶³ The garments of Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi were of *malmal* (calico), *jumar* and *khasa* (silk facric)⁶⁴ while some of the nobles adhered to *sharia* in their dress code.⁶⁵

Amir Khusrau appreciated in his writings the specimens of the Indian textiles that they were so fine that body looked transparent if costumes made of such clothes were put on and some of their varieties could be wrapped in a nail.⁶⁶ Some varieties of silken stuff⁶⁷ worn and used by the nobles were *atlas* (satin),⁶⁸ *baharman*⁶⁹ (silken material which was available in all shades), *bhiram*,⁷⁰ *barad*,⁷¹ *bhiram* (costly silk material) and *cheenee*,⁷² *kirpas* (*malmal*), *astar*, *shirin baft*,⁷³ *dara'i-baf* (white, fragile, as spider's web),⁷⁴ *harir* (a single layered material resembling sun rays in brightness and delicacy),⁷⁵ *kamkhab* (brocaded silk),⁷⁶ *katan* (silk having a shine like moonlight),⁷⁷ *katan-i-bihari*, *kataan-i-rusi* (another variety of *kataan* or linen of Russia),⁷⁸ *khazz* (silken stuff of super fine quality or coarse kind of silk),⁷⁹ *maqna* (mossy looking silk material),⁸⁰ *mashru*,⁸¹ *narmina* (used for furnishings of silk),⁸² *parniyan* (painted *harir*/silk),⁸³ *patola*,⁸⁴ *qasab*,⁸⁵ *sushtar* (Iranian, costly silken material used for men's wear),⁸⁶ *tabrezi*,⁸⁷ *tassej* (fine costly silk material),⁸⁸ *jama-i-*

⁶³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 72, 91, 149.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 88.

⁶⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 450; Eng. tr., p. 246.

⁶⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 132.

⁶⁷ Silken stuffs are generally termed as *qamash*, *aqamasha* and *qamash-i-abresham*. See Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 310, 311, 312; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 133, 137.

⁶⁸ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 316; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 12.

⁶⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 52; Vol. IV, p. 85.

⁷⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 311.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 310.

⁷² Ibid., p. 311.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 310. Amir Khusrau also mentions *kirpas*. See *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 55; Amir Khusrau, *Duwal Rani Khazir Khan*, p. 301.

⁷⁴ It was available at Deogiri/Daulatabad. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 85; Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 22. Barani mentions that it was expensive silk used by the aristocrats. *Tarikh*, p. 311.

⁷⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 31; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. p. 85; Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, p. 210.

⁷⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 311; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 125.

⁷⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Nuh Sipahr*, p. 68; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 210.

⁷⁸ Idem, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 86.

⁷⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 310-311; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, pp. 12, 70.

⁸⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 86; Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, p. 110.

⁸¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 310.

⁸² Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 81, 123.

⁸³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 85.

⁸⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 223. It was available at Deogiri/Daulatabad.

⁸⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 210.

⁸⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 311; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 80; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 53.

⁸⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 311.

⁸⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 12; Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 311.

Deogiri, *jama-i-wilayat*, *mawaz-i-marwari*, *rupak-i-bihar*, *yektai-i-awadh*, *chambartali* (a kind of thin cloth), *narma-i-latif*, *shuqqa-i-naranji*⁸⁹ and *zarbaft* (costly brocaded silk).⁹⁰ Besides these silk fabrics, various other kinds of fabrics or clothing material of cotton, woolen, linen, embroidered and painted and of gold work are referred. There are many references at different places of *deba* (brocade), *zarbaft* (cloth of gold), *zardozi* (embroidered cloth), *makhmal* (velvet), *atlas* (dull coloured satin-red, tending to be black), *mushajjar* (a kind of figured silk brocade of painted silk cloth), *daq* (a kind of costly stuff, painted and embroidered), *kirpas* (a kind of fine painted silk from China), *aksun* (a kind of rich black coloured brocaded silken cloth worn by high rank people),⁹¹ Russian linen,⁹² *qad-i-rangeen* (coloured cloth), *malmal* (muslin),⁹³ *parcha* (cotton cloth) and *qamash* (silk).⁹⁴ In his *Diwan*, referring to *jama-i-deogiri*, Khusrau mentions that it was so transparent and light that it looks as if one was wearing no dress at all.⁹⁵

It is mentioned that Balban would not allowed his nobles and courtiers to attend his private audience without stockings (*moza*).⁹⁶ Amir Khusrau mentions that the shoes and boots were made of leather by *kafshdoz* (boot-makers)⁹⁷ while Mushtaqi mentions *nalain-i-siyah* (black shoe) and *paaye-zaar* (hard shoe).⁹⁸

⁸⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 18; Vol. II, pp. 38, 245; Vol. IV, pp. 85-86; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 53.

⁹⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 462; Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, 'Some Varieties of Silken Stuffs in Persian Sources C. 1200-1700', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1983, pp. 122-129.

⁹¹ Amir Khusrau, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 55.

⁹² Idem, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 194.

⁹³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 91, 93. Amir Khusrau also mentions *astar-i-rangeen*. See *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 55.

⁹⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 19, 34. Al-Umari writes that Indian cotton cloth is finer and has more softness and beauty of its look. Some of its kinds are like silken muslin on account of their softness, quality and shineness. Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 52.

⁹⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Nihayat-ul-Kamal*, ed. Syed Yaseen Ali Nizami Dehlavi, Delhi, 1332 A. H., p. 52; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 52; Syed Sabahuddin, *Amir Khusrau as a Genius*, p. 86; Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Delhi, 1974, p. 130.

⁹⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 33; Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 64; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 21; Vol. III, p. 95; Vol. IV, p. 46; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 280; Sikandar, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 7; Eng. tr., p. 2; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 98; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 174; Al-Umari also mentions shoe. See, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 60.

⁹⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 57-67, 272-273; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 132; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, pp. 73, 74; Idem, 'Life and Conditions', p. 79.

⁹⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 173, 175, 180; Eng. tr., pp. 189, 192.

C. Food, Dishes and Utensils:

The dining carpets of the nobles consisted varieties of dishes which were placed before the guests.⁹⁹ Food was prepared mainly with flour, meat, sugar candy and butter.¹⁰⁰ Among the varieties of dishes were meat,¹⁰¹ roasted meat,¹⁰² roasted sheep called *zallah*,¹⁰³ meat cooked with ghee, onion and green ginger,¹⁰⁴ rice cooked in ghee with chicken called *hashimi*.¹⁰⁵ Barani mentions meat of *gopsand* (*gosht-i-gopsand*), partridges (*kabutar*) and chicken (*bacha-i-murg*).¹⁰⁶ Besides, the Indian dish called *samusak* was much favorite dish of the nobles. It was prepared with hashed meat and cooked with almonds, walnuts, pistachios, onions and spices. These ingredients were put inside a piece of thin bread and then fried in ghee to prepare *samusak*.¹⁰⁷ There is mention of *khushka*¹⁰⁸ (boiled rice) and cooked rice.¹⁰⁹ Mushtaqi mentions *biranj-i-sadah* (plain rice), *biranj-i-shirin* (sweet rice) and *biranj-i-namkeen* (salted rice) served to the nobles.¹¹⁰ Indian dish called *khichri* i.e. mixed rice was also in use.¹¹¹

Amir Khusrau provides a list of delicious dishes which were served on the table. The *barra-i-biryan* (fried or roasted kid), rib of the goat which was served with the *polaw* (a dish composed of meat and rice; seasoned the cooked with butter, spices

⁹⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 32, 115-116; Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 183-186; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 607-608, 670; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 148-149, 182; Eng. tr., pp. 162-164, 198-199; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 68; Idem, 'Food Dishes', pp. 122, 124-125; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 96; Rahman, 'Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment', p. 126; Askari, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', pp. 147-149; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 159.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 761.

¹⁰¹ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 116; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 308; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 670; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', pp. 125-126.

¹⁰³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 761; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 144; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 434.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 608; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 125.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 608, 670; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 116; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 159.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 608, 670, 761; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 144; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 62; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 71; Idem, 'Food Dishes', pp. 124-125. The *sambosa* (a kind of small pastry of minced meat of a triangular form) became a delicacy. Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 184; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 23; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 75; Eng. tr., p. 78.

¹¹⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 149; Eng. tr. p. 164; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163.

¹¹¹ Ibn Battuta says that it was quite popular among the Indian Muslims who ate it for breakfast daily. They cook *munj* (moong pulse) with rice and eat it with *ghee* (clarified butter). It was also called *kisri*. See *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 611-612; Afif throw light on this dish, found from the kitchen of a famous noble of Firoz Shah, namely Imadul-Mulk Bashir Sultani, see, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 216; Eng. tr., p. 133; Muhammad Akbar Husaini, *Javami-al-Kalam* (*Malfuzat* of Shaikh Gesudaraz), Kanpur, A.H. 1356, p.216; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 68; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 72; Idem, 'Food Dishes', p. 127.

and honey), gravy or *abgosht* or *yakhni* of *biryani*, the meat pieces cut out from the sides of skinned goat, the fat of the thick tail of *dumba* (a kind of sheep), *ahu-barra* (fawn), the head of goat (well-cooked but intact *buz musallam* like *murg musallam*) and the hilly *dumba*. A large variety of birds, fowls, such as *waji* (quail), *tihoo* (a bird smaller than a partridge), *durraj* (black partridge), *charz* (bustard, a bird of game whose flesh is tender and delicate) were cooked in a variety of ways.¹¹² Mushtaqi mentions *yakhni-dumba* (mutton-soup), milk mixed with rice and different types of *jugratha* (coagulated milk),¹¹³ *do-piyaza* (curry made of meat and onion), *sar-i-gospand* (brain curry),¹¹⁴ *sag*,¹¹⁵ pickles,¹¹⁶ *kabab* (roasted or fried meat preparation), *yakhni* (beaf-soup), roasted *dumbas*, *buz-i-khassi* (roasted meat of castrated goats), *yakhni shorba-i-la'al* (red soup of mutton), *shorba-i-zard* (yellow soup made of mutton), chicken, partridges and several other birds, chicken, partridges and the quails. Among the *pakwan-i-hindi* (vegetarian food preparations) there were *puris* (fried bread), *suhaali*, *gulgula*, *gitehndi*, *kadi* (curd curry), *baris*, *bara*, *phulauri*, *mangauri* and *mangauchhi* served to the nobles on the dining carpet.¹¹⁷

Ijaz-i-Khusravi contains references to many articles of food such as *kabab* (meat cut in small pieces and roasted with onion and eggs and stuck on skewer),¹¹⁸ roasted chicken,¹¹⁹ roasted lamb,¹²⁰ *sirka* (vinegar), *jughrat* (curd)¹²¹ *girda-i-paneer* (cake of cheese), *murabba*,¹²² *sikbat* or *sikbati* (a dish made of meat, wheat-flour and vinegar),¹²³ roasted meat of cow,¹²⁴ *qaisunqur* (a kind of meat syrup of birds), *bughra*

¹¹² Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 184; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 50; Rahman, 'Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment', p. 126; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', pp. 147-149; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', pp. 124-125.

¹¹³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 83, 147.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

¹¹⁵ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 59.

¹¹⁶ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 83; Eng. tr., p. 87.

¹¹⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 147, 148-149; Eng. tr. pp. 162-164; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163.

¹¹⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 325; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 198; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹¹⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 158, 165; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 70.

¹²⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 214.

¹²¹ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 51; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 216; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 83; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹²² A preserve or confection. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 169; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹²³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 612; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as Source of Social History', p. 149.

¹²⁴ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 129.

(a kind of dish called vermicelli or *sewain* invented by Sultan Bughra Khan), *shulla* (*pulao* or dish made up of rice, spices, butter, flesh or fowl).¹²⁵

Various types of breads and cakes such as *khubz*,¹²⁶ *qurs*,¹²⁷ *nan*,¹²⁸ *biryan* (fried bread), *nan-i-maidah*,¹²⁹ *nan-i-tanduri*,¹³⁰ *nan* (bread) round like the circular disc of the sun, *nan-i-tanuk* (thin fine bread like chapatti) *nan-i-turi* (of Turkish or Mongol variety) which was puffed *kak* (biscuit or dry bread),¹³¹ fried and baked cakes,¹³² sweet cake,¹³³ *ruqaq*¹³⁴ and *tutmaj*.¹³⁵ There were tablets or cakes of *sabuni/sabuniya* (a mixture of almonds, honey and sesame oil). A round dough cake made with ghee (resemble the bread called *mashrikin* in Arabia) which they stuffed with sweet called *sabuniya* and on top of each dough cake they put a sweet cake which was called *khisht* (brick-shaped), made of flour, sugar and ghee.¹³⁶

Desserts consisted of fresh fruits, dry fruits and sweets. Almonds, dried grapes, walnuts, guavas, melons, mangoes were much found of.¹³⁷ Superior qualities of melons were grown in Khwarizm and it was imported to India after cutting into strips and dried in the sun. However, varieties of fruits were imported to India from Khurasan and thus were considered luxurious items.¹³⁸

¹²⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, Chapter 11, pp. 122-130; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹²⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 92.

¹²⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 116-117; Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁸ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 10-11; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 434; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 83, 148-149; Eng. tr. pp. 162-164; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163.

¹²⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 116.

¹³⁰ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 58.

¹³¹ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 183-185; Rahman, 'Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment', p. 126; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, pp. 49-50; Idem, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', pp. 147-149; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 124.

¹³² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 116.

¹³³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 66.

¹³⁴ Thin round cakes of bread. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, 325; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 607, 670, 761; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹³⁵ Thin slices of pastry or vermicelli. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 15; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 198; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51. According to an anonymous writer it was a preparation of milk, rice and dry fruits cooked and mixed with sugar candy. Sultan Kaiqubad seems to have been fond of it. See *Surur al-Sudur*, MS. Habib Ganj Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, p. 48; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 125.

¹³⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 184; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 607-608, 670, 761; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 70-71; Idem, 'Food Dishes', pp. 125-126; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 50.

¹³⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 32; Amir Khusrau, *Nuh Sipih*, pp. 158-161; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 150.

¹³⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 547, 594-595; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 49; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 59, 92; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 135.

Different varieties of sweetmeats or *halwa* (a kind of sweetmeat made of flour, ghee and sugar)¹³⁹ such as *al-muqarrasa*, *jild-al-faras* and *Judge's sweet-mouthfuls*,¹⁴⁰ *paludah* (a kind of flummery or sweetmeat),¹⁴¹ *shakkar-paich*¹⁴² (a kind of sweetmeat made of rice or wheat and sugar, also paper to wrap with sugar in), *zaliba-i-nabat* or *jalaibi*,¹⁴³ *lauzina*,¹⁴⁴ *ghulahakkari*,¹⁴⁵ *shir-i-birinj*¹⁴⁶ and *halwa-i-gajar* have been mentioned.¹⁴⁷

Among the drinks, milk and *sherbet* was served before the meal, and barley-water called *fugga* (a kind of drink made of water and barley and of dried grapes) was drunk just after the meal. Betel and areca-nuts were also served after the meal.¹⁴⁸ Amir Khusrau mentions *sharab-i-asir* (grape-wine), *sharab-i-naishkar* (wine manufactured out of sugarcane) and *sherbet* of water and honey.¹⁴⁹

An Indian habit of chewing betel leaves was readily adopted by the nobles. Thus, in all the feasts betel was distributed among the people.¹⁵⁰ Betel was prepared with costly ingredients and was generally considered substitute of wine.¹⁵¹ Amir Khusrau devoted many pages to the virtues of betel leaf in his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*.¹⁵² Nobles used to send betel leaves as gifts to each other.¹⁵³

¹³⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 115-116, 318-319; Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 184; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 761, 757; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 9, 62, 68, 72, 75, 149; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163.

¹⁴⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 757.

¹⁴¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 177, 517; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹⁴² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 196; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹⁴³ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 325; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 305.

¹⁴⁴ A Kind of sweetmeat in which almonds were mixed up or almond shaped confection. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 15; Idem, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 125.

¹⁴⁵ A kind of sweetmeat made of rose and sugar, something like *gulqand*. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 60; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹⁴⁶ This pudding was made of rice, cotton seeds and milk. According to Khusrau, it strengthens the bones. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 199.

¹⁴⁷ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 110; Eng. tr., pp. 236-237; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 163.

¹⁴⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 65, 116; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., p. 85; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 608, 671; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 481-482; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 9, 55, 62, 72, 74, 147, 148-149; Eng. tr. pp. 162-164; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 58; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 50, 75.

¹⁴⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 53; Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 95; Vol. IV, p. 152; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 25; Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, p. 51.

¹⁵⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 247; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 50.

¹⁵¹ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 56; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 130-131.

¹⁵² Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 253-267; Idem, *Nuh Sipih*, pp. 158-161; Eng. tr., p. 49; Idem, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 94, 185-186. He described the quality of *pan* that those who chew it will never face a disease like leprosy. It pure blood, it had digestive properties served as a stimulant in laziness, arrested the decay of teeth and controlled bad breath. Shujat Ali Sandilvi, 'A Great Indian Patriot', *Amir Khusrau Memorial Volume*, p. 27.

¹⁵³ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 476; Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 721.

A large staff was maintained by the nobles to look after the management in the kitchen establishment. They were the valets, the cooks, the running footmen (*daradavia*), the water-bearer (*abdariya*, which is the *saqqa*), the sherbet dispenser, the betel-givers, the arm-bearers, the spear-bearers, the umbrella-bearers, the laver-carriers, the chamberlains and the heralds. The master cooks received patronage from the nobles.¹⁵⁴

Food was cooked in the cauldrons (*deg*)¹⁵⁵ and was served in trays,¹⁵⁶ *khwans* (golden plates),¹⁵⁷ plates, bowls and vessels of gold, silver,¹⁵⁸ brass vessels,¹⁵⁹ vessels of glass¹⁶⁰ and was also served in large ceramic bowls or chinaware.¹⁶¹ Golden platters, coloured dishes, goblets, water-pots, leather and earthen pots¹⁶² and *chamcha* (spoons) were commonly used.¹⁶³ Minhaj also mentions the golden vessels like *tashtari*, *alamhai-zar-kasheeda*, *baadli* and *badaltaaq*.¹⁶⁴ The vessels like large porcelain bowls, small saucers of leather, tin mugs (for barley-water), and golden vessels called *suyun* with stands called *subuk* were commonly used.¹⁶⁵ Cups for vegetable juice are mentioned.¹⁶⁶ Ewers (*tasht*), and among the drinking vessels jugs (*musharrabah*)¹⁶⁷ and *kasa* (drinking vessels)¹⁶⁸ for water and milk and *jamdan*¹⁶⁹ are

¹⁵⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 760; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', pp. 132, 136.

¹⁵⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 184; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 82, 150; Eng. tr., p. 87; Rahman, 'Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment', p. 126; Askari, 'Khusrau's Works as Sources of Social History', pp. 147-149; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 78.

¹⁵⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 32; Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 183-185; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 435-437; 670-671. Ibn Battuta also referred to the gold trays. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 737.

¹⁵⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 32; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 434.

¹⁵⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 32; Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 183-185; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 435-437, 608, 670-671, 736; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 374; Firoz Tughlaq, *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 16; Eng. tr., p. 27; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 109-110; Eng. tr., p. 33.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 435-437; 670-671, 736; Firoz Tughlaq, *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 16; Eng. tr., p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 607-608; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', pp. 124-125.

¹⁶¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 485; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 608, 670, 736; Firoz Tughlaq, *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 16; Eng. tr., p. 27; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 144, 550; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 83; Eng., tr., pp. 87, 126; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 58.

¹⁶² Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 737.

¹⁶³ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 737; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 149; Eng. tr. p. 164; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163.

¹⁶⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 316.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 608, 761, 736; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 121.

¹⁶⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 183.

¹⁶⁷ Barani mentions *tasht*. See *Tarikh*, p. 63; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 149; Eng. tr. pp. 162-164; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 161-163; Muhammad Jamal Qiwamuddin, *Qiwam-ul-Aqaid*, MS. Osmania University, Hyderabad, pp. 185-186 as quoted by Nizami, *Royalty*, pp. 96-97. Amir Khusrau mentions *surahi*. See *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, p. 127; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 72, 149.

¹⁶⁹ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 25.

mentioned. Sometimes jugs of gold were also used.¹⁷⁰ Muthhar referred to the beautiful vases that were called *bargdan* (bowls for betel leaves).¹⁷¹ *aftaba*¹⁷² (wash-basin), *khushbudan* (perfume-case) and *kafurdani* (camphor vessel) was used by them. Ibn Battuta describes the rituals that were followed during formal meals. He tells us that when the guest finished eating, a cradle in the shape of container (with four legs and upper part woven of palm fiber) was placed in front of the honored guests.¹⁷³

D. Harem and Slaves:

Although it is difficult to determine the size and institution of the *harem* maintained by the nobles under the Delhi Sultans yet scattered references highlight the fact that the institution of *harem* and slave girls, in a large number, was maintained by the nobles. Thus, *harem* institution emerged as significant feature of the household of the nobles.¹⁷⁴ Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, *wazir* of Firoz Shah, maintained a large *harem* with number of beautiful slave girls. He was fond of women thus there were about two thousand women of different countries including Rome and China were present in his *harem* for his pleasure. To avoid the stress of the state affairs, he used to enjoy company of the women.¹⁷⁵

Likewise, Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan, son of Ahmad Khan Sarang Lodi maintained large *harem*. The silken garments were tailored day and night for the ladies of the *harem*. Ladies observed strict *purdah* (veil). The hierarchy of the officials itself signify the institution of the *harem*. A *hajib* was posted at the gate followed by a *pardadar* to care the female apartments then a *khwajasara* posted at the inner gate of the *harem*. Inside the palace, close to inner gate, was deputed an old woman. To convey the message inside *harem*, the *hajib* passed it to the *pardadar*, and then the *pardadar* directed it to the *khwajasara* and the latter informed the old lady.

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 736.

¹⁷¹ Mutahhar, *Diwan*, p. 138; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 81.

¹⁷² Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 284; Eng. tr., p. 376; *Qiwam-ul-Aqaid*, MS. Osmania University Hyderabad, pp. 185-186 as quoted by Nizami, *Royalty*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁷³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 435-437; 670-671; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 80, 82.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 234-235.

¹⁷⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 399-400; Eng. tr., p. 223; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Khan Jahan Maqbul', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1978, Vol. IV, pp. 1019 a-b; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 40; K. A. Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Aligarh, 1956, p. 13; Tapan Rai Chaudhri & Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I, Delhi, 2004, p. 90.

who passed it to the concerned woman. The daily necessities and the kitchen establishment of the *harem* were controlled by *khwajasara*.¹⁷⁶

According to Mushtaqi, Jalal Khan Lodi (known as Jighat and the *muqta* of Kalpi), Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani, *muqta* of Rapri, and Dilawar Khan son of Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua (later entrusted with the *wizarat* by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi) spent lavishly on women and pleasure. They were known for having a large number of women in their household and maintaining large *harems*. Dilawar Khan spent two and a half lakh *tankahs* annually on buying flowers and perfumes for his seraglio (*harem*).¹⁷⁷ Mian Zabarruddin took his *harem* everywhere he went, either on hunting or on his visit to any shrine.¹⁷⁸ Ahmad Khan son of Jamal Khan Lodi and Mian Mahabat, son of Mian Husain Farmuli maintained large *harems* and had maidservants.¹⁷⁹ Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Sarwani used to send copies of *Quran* inside his *harem* for daily recitation.¹⁸⁰ Mian Zainuddin provided training to his *harem* ladies and slaves, thus none of his slaves and slave-girls were careless in offering prayers. The duties were assigned to the slave girls and boys after the completion of their training both in religion and manners.¹⁸¹

As transport, the covered palanquins were used to carry the slave girls and *harem* ladies. Generally the nobles carry their slave-girls along-with them on horses but Tatar Khan did not follow this practice. He had constructed special palanquins for his slave girls made of wooden planks with curtains for the purpose of privacy and *purdah*.¹⁸² For carrying ladies of the *harem* of Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan, special carts were made with covered spaces.¹⁸³

The slave girls however, were also kept in a large number as concubines in the *harem*.¹⁸⁴ Ahmad Shah Bhatti, a Lodi noble, was so inclined towards his beautiful slave girl that he had presented her jewelry worth ten thousands rupees.¹⁸⁵ The nobles took large number of slave girls with them even when they were on military

¹⁷⁶ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 92; Eng. tr., p. 98; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 267.

¹⁷⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 82; Eng. tr., p. 87; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 475.

¹⁷⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 76.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 59, 88.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 74.

¹⁸² Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 393-394; Eng. tr., pp. 220-21; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 173-174; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 143; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 40.

¹⁸³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 47-48, 93; Eng. tr., p. 99.

¹⁸⁴ Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 40.

¹⁸⁵ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 22.

expeditions and even on hunting excursions. These slave girls would ride on horses or on *tanui* (*tangaah*) and followed their masters.¹⁸⁶ Ibn Battuta liked the slave girls more than his wives and always kept them in his company.¹⁸⁷ The passion for a slave girl sometimes became the cause of bitterness among the nobles.¹⁸⁸

Minhaj Siraj in order to help his sister, who was facing financial problem in Khurasan, sent her forty Indian slaves along with money. The slaves were to be sold by his sister.¹⁸⁹ Amir Khusrau mentions the Russian soldiers in the military contingent in Dipalpur under Ghazi Malik who were the slaves purchased by the Malik.¹⁹⁰ The Chinese merchants used to supply Chinese products along with the slaves trained in different arts and crafts.¹⁹¹

It is said that if slaves, being articles of property constituted wealth, their manumission would be an act of charity at par in merit with other gifts to the needy. It was therefore an action particularly to be acclaimed among the pious.¹⁹² Hasan Sijzi, an army officer, bought a slave girl in ten *tankahs* from his free slave Malih and manumitted her.¹⁹³ Hasan also freed his two other slaves.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, Imad ul-Mulk Malik Bashir Sultani, the leading noble of Firoz Shah, sought his own release from Sultan (as he was the Slave noble of Sultan) and then released all his slaves numbering about four thousand. He even granted much wealth and gold to each of his domestic slave to live comfortably with freedom.¹⁹⁵

Sultan Firoz Shah issued a *farman* to all *muqtas* for the collection of slaves. Thus every *muqta*, who came to attend the royal court, presented slaves to Sultan according to his resources. Those who presented more slaves received much favoured by the Sultan. *Muqtis* selected the slaves and dressed them in attractive clothes, caps,

¹⁸⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 392-394; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 21, 23-24; Bahadur Bura carried his slave girls (*kanizan*) in his expedition. Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 415; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 47-48, 49; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr. (anecdotes from *Waqiat*), p. 148.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, introduction, p. xxv, p. 106.

¹⁸⁸ Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 290; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 40.

¹⁸⁹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 214, 295; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 52.

¹⁹⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Tughlaqnama*, ed. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi, Aurangabad, 1933, p. 84; Siddiqui *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 52.

¹⁹¹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 144, 550; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 135.

¹⁹² Irfan Habib, 'Slavery in the Delhi Sultanate, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1-2, 1988-89, p. 253; Reuben Levy, *The Social structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 80-81.

¹⁹³ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, pp. 339-340; Irfan Habib, 'Slavery in the Delhi Sultanate', p. 225.

¹⁹⁴ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, pp. 5, 191-193, 393; Irfan Habib, 'Slavery in the Delhi Sultanate', pp. 252-253.

¹⁹⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 444; Eng. tr., p. 243.

socks and fine muslin cloth around their waist.¹⁹⁶ Noble's attitude towards the slaves can be better judged by their behaviour that they brought up these slaves like their sons arranged their education and training.¹⁹⁷

E. Matrimonial Relations, Marriages and Divorce:

The matrimonial alliance took place among the nobles while sometimes with the members of royal family. Matrimonial relations between the royal family and the nobles of high repute also enhanced the social status of the nobility among the ruling class. Evidences show that the Sultan's sisters or other royal princesses were married to the high ranked nobles. Two daughters of Qutbuddin Aibek were married, one after the death of other, to Qubacha and the third daughter of Aibek was married to Iltutmish (when he was a Khan)¹⁹⁸. To develop a sense of corporate solidarity amongst his noble Sultan Muizzuddin ordered affinal relations between some of his nobles. He commanded that the two daughters of Yalduz should marry Qutbuddin Aibek and Malik Nasiruddin Qubacha.¹⁹⁹ A daughter of Iltutmish was married to Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Balban).²⁰⁰ Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aetikin married to the sister of Sultan Muizzuddin Bahram Shah which permitted him to take the *naubat* and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his residence.²⁰¹

To enhance their social position, the below ranked nobles make matrimonial relations with illustrious nobles as well as with the royal family. Sometimes matrimonial relations with the slave families sought to achieve these ends as in the case of Malik Saifuddin Ibak Yughantat who married his daughter to Malik Qamaruddin Kiran Temur Khan.²⁰² Sultan Iltutmish during his lifetime materialized

¹⁹⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 268-269; Eng. tr., pp. 157-158.

¹⁹⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 271-273; Eng. tr., p. 159.

¹⁹⁸ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 141; Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 529-530; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 63; Eng. tr. p. 90; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 27; Eng. tr., p. 61; Khan, *History of the Salarat*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

¹⁹⁹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 411, 418; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 56; Eng. tr. pp. 79-80; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 21; Eng. tr., p. 46; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

²⁰⁰ Because of this matrimonial relation he was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khan and a canopy and a *durbash* (two branched baton) were conferred on him and was entrusted with the administrative works of the Sultanate. Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 35; Eng. tr., p. 85. Balban had very close relations with the royal family. Both Sultans Masud and Nasiruddin Mahmud were his son-in-laws and his son Bughra Khan was married to the only daughter of Nasiruddin Mahmud by a second wife. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 23; Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 18; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁰¹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 253; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 650, Vol. II, p. 751; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 86; Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 122; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 28; Eng. tr., p. 26; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 69; Eng. tr., p. 124; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁰² Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 248; Eng. tr., p. 744; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

marriage of a daughter of Malik Bahauddin Tughril of Bayana to Malik Tajuddin Arsalan Khan.²⁰³ Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud had married the daughter of Ulugh Khan (Balban).²⁰⁴ After the death of Sultan Iltutmish, Malika-i-Jahan married Malik Qutlugh Khan who then became the *muqti* of Awadh after this matrimonial alliance.²⁰⁵ Malik Izzuddin Balban (Yuzbak) was son-in-law of Malik Qutlugh Khan. He was appointed to the post of *Naib Amir-i-Hajib* by Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud.²⁰⁶

Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Altuniya who was the governor of Tabarhinda (Bhatinda) was married to Sultan Razia²⁰⁷ whereas a daughter of Malik Chajju was married to Kaiqubad.²⁰⁸ The ascendancy of Malik Nizamuddin, *wazir* of Kaiqubad, reached to the highest offices that he became *Dadbek* (chief administrator of justice) and *naib-ul-mulk* (deputy ruler) and his wife, who was the daughter of Malik-ul-Umara Fakhruddin Kotwal, became directress of the royal *harem*.²⁰⁹ A daughter of Alauddin Khalji was married to Ghazi Malik (later Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq).²¹⁰ Prince Shadi Khan was married with the daughter of Malik Alp Khan.²¹¹ Prince Khizr Khan's marriage was also arranged with a daughter of Malik Alp Khan.²¹² Malik Kafur married the mother of Prince Umar, the third wife of Sultan Alauddin.²¹³

²⁰³ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 265; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 767. It is reported that Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud appointed Tajuddin Arsalan to Bayana after this matrimonial relationship. Despite the loss of political control over Bayana, Bahauddin's family was still important and prestigious in the region. Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123, 317; Khan, *History of the Sadarat*, Vol. I, p. 97.

²⁰⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 213, 293; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 685, Vol. II, p. 819; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 91; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 129; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 146; Eng. tr., p. 268; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 36; Eng. tr., p. 87; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 71.

²⁰⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 220; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 701; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 92; Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 131; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 72.

²⁰⁶ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 299; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 827; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 92; Eng. tr., p. 131; S. B. P. Nigam, 'The Life and Career of Qutlugh Khan, The Step-father of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud', *Proc. I. H. C.*, Ranchi, 1964, p. 23.

²⁰⁷ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 252; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 749; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 85; Eng. tr., p. 121; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 32; Eng. tr., p. 77; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 68; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 29; Eng. tr., p. 27.

²⁰⁸ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 158; Eng. tr., p. 221; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 54; Eng. tr., p. 51.

²⁰⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 131, 134, 135; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 126, 128, 129; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 50, 51; Eng. tr., p. 120, 121.

²¹⁰ Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 85.

²¹¹ Amir Khusrau, *Duwal Rani Khizr Khan*, p. ; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 122; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 86.

²¹² Amir Khusrau, *Duwal Rani Khizr Khan*, p. ; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 85.

²¹³ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 123.

Having two wives was common among the nobles. Malik Ali Gurhasp (later Sultan Alaauddin Khalji) had two wives: a daughter of Sultan Jalaauddin Khalji and the other a sister of Malik Alp Khan.²¹⁴ Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji married the daughter of Malik Dinar (superintendent of royal elephants) and having appointed him *muqta* of Gujarat with the title Zafar Khan.²¹⁵ It is mentioned that Sultan Alaauddin Khalji forbidden the nobles to form any matrimonial alliances without the royal consent.²¹⁶

Amir Bakht was given the province of Chanderi and married with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq's sister²¹⁷ and Azam Malik al-Bayazidi was also relative of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq by a matrimonial alliance.²¹⁸ Another royal princess was also married with Maulana Yusuf who became 'Dawar-ul-mulk' during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah.²¹⁹ Malik-ul-Hukama, *iqtadar* of Broach, was brother-in-law of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He was married to the daughter of Sultan's step-mother, the widow of Tughlaq Shah while Amir Saifuddin Gaddah was also married with another sister of Sultan.²²⁰ Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk entitled *Malik-ush-Sharq* (deputy prime minister) was married with Sultan Firoz Shah's sister.²²¹ Some nobles became the son-in-laws of Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah) such as son of Malik Imaduddin Simnani, son of Malik ul-Ulama, son of the Shaikh ul-Islam and the son of Sadr-i-Jahan al-Bukhari.²²²

The matrimonial relations among the nobles were usual, thus Prime Minister Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz (Turk by race) married his two daughters with the two sons of Khudawand Zadah Qiwanuddin (Iranian immigrant to the court). The alliance was arranged by the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.²²³ He also gives a brief

²¹⁴ Haji al-Dabir, *Zafar-ul-Walid*, ed. D. Ross, p. 154; Alaauddin and Ulugh Khan were son-in-laws of Sultan Jalaauddin Khalji. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 229; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 182, 190; Eng. tr., pp. 247, 256; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 57; Eng. tr., pp. 133, 194; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 101; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 85.

²¹⁵ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 209; Eng. tr., pp. 282-283; Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 37; Eng. tr., p. 30; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 125; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 35.

²¹⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 181; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 109.

²¹⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 113; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 729.

²¹⁸ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 731.

²¹⁹ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 98; Eng. tr., p. 100.

²²⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 113.

²²¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 282; Eng. tr., p. 164.

²²² Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 688.

²²³ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 692, M. Athar Ali, 'Nobility under Muhammad bin Tughlaq', in *Medieval India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture*, (Collected essays of M. Athar Ali), Delhi, 2006, p. 32.

description of the marriage ceremony. Due to some official engagements, *wazir* himself was absent thus Sultan acted as guardian in his absence and reached the *wazir*'s residence at night to attend the ceremony of the marriage. Grand Qazi read the statement of the *dowry*, Sultan stood until the Qazi was reading it while the other *qazis*, *amirs* and *Shaikhs* remained seated. Sultan placed the dowry items before the grand Qazi. Then, the other nobles requested the Sultan for not performing all the rituals but Sultan completed it to the end and left the place after handing over the charge to a high ranked Amir.²²⁴

Ibn Battuta, who was the Qazi of Delhi, had married more than one time. He was married with the sister of Sharif Ibrahim, the court official (*kharitadar* i.e. keeper of paper and pens) and the governor of Hansi and Sarsati.²²⁵ During his stay at Delhi (about nine years) he retained a large number of slave girls too.²²⁶ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had married some of foreign immigrants to his own relations or to the daughters of his ministers. Saifuddin, an Arab from Syria, was married to the Sultan's sister.²²⁷ Azam Malik Bayazidi Bistami, who was married to the daughter of the Sultan's sister, was entrusted the governorship of the *iqta* of Kara.²²⁸ The two sons of Qiwamuddin from Tirmuz whom the Sultan had honoured with the title of Khudawandzada were married to the daughters of the *wazir*, Khwaja Jahan.²²⁹ References regarding the intermarriages are available for the nobles under Lodi Sultans.²³⁰

The concern of the family life, *nikah* and *talaq*, is evident in the contemporary *fatawa* literature.²³¹ Earliest reference of divorce is given by Minhaj. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aetigin, *naib* of Sultan Muizzuddin Bahram Shah, married the sister of the Sultan who was earlier divorced by the son of Qazi Nasiruddin.²³² According to Amir Khusrau incompatibility or infertility led to separation of the couples by means

²²⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 692.

²²⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 718-719; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. LVI; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 207.

²²⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, p. LVI; During his stay at Maldives Island, Ibn Battuta married the daughter of *wazir* Sulaiman. Brief account of the marriage ceremony is also given by him. For details see, Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 249-250.

²²⁷ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 686.

²²⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 488; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 686.

²²⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 693; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 137.

²³⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 7, 103; Eng. tr., pp. 6, 111; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 173.

²³¹ In the related chapters *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania* has discussed many problems related to divorce. Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²³² Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, Vol. I, p. 192.

of divorce.²³³ Nizamuddin mentions that one of the daughters of Sultan Iltutmish was married to Prince Muhammad (*muqta*). Accidentally in a state of intoxication he divorced her by uttering the word *talaq* (divorce) three times. When he recovered from the influence of liquor, he felt deeply pained by what he had done. Legally he could not take her back to his *harem* unless she was married to someone else and then divorced by him. So, as there was no remedy except the ceremony of legalizing it again, the lady was married to Shaikh Sadrudin Arif, son of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya (a man of genuine piety). He promised to marry and divorce her the next day. But after consumption of the marriage, when the Shaikh was asked to divorce the lady again, she said to him that she had sought shelter in his house from that perfidious man and God would not allowed that she should again be made over to his tender mercies. So she was not prepared to be divorced. The Shaikh then said that he could not be less than a woman and did not divorce her. This incident led to the bitterness between the *muqti* and the Saint.²³⁴ Similarly, Shaikh Jamali quoted that Qadr Khan, governor of Multan in an excited state of mind divorced his wife. The Qazi advised him to allow the divorced wife to marry with a Suhrawardi saint to facilitate her restoration to him but the latter refused to divorce his new wife.²³⁵

Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru includes a very important document in his *Insha-i-Mahru*. It is an agreement to be executed by the Maliks, prominent Amirs and Khans, all the nobles, courtiers and officers of the state. The document declares an oath that whatever women any noble have (or wished to have as wife would be), without any pretext or interpretation of *shariat*, divorced from him and every time that a noble by pretence contracted defective marriage by decree of the *qazis* of the *shafite* sect, the *nikah* would not be valid. Every noble had accepted this condition and covenant.²³⁶

The dowry seems to form an important item of marriage expenditure. When *sipahsalar* Ali Usman have accepted forty thousand *tankahs* by his newly married son, the saint Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri exclaimed and said to the *sipahsalar* that when his son would have a daughter then he will also fetched forty thousand *tankahs*.²³⁷ It was easy to marry in Maldives Island because of no dowry custom

²³³ Askari, *Amir Khusrau*, pp. 37-38.

²³⁴ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 43; Eng. tr., p. 104; Jamali, *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 135; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 242.

²³⁵ Jamali, *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 135 as quoted by Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 134.

²³⁶ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 12, pp. 24-25.

²³⁷ *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 88-89 as quoted by Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 131.

there. During his stay at Maldives Island, Ibn Battuta married four times one by one.²³⁸

F. Means of Conveyance:

During the Sultanate period, horses were the main means of transport.²³⁹ Nobles also carried their loads on horses while oxen were used by the common people.²⁴⁰ Nobles possess large number of horses of different breeds. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Madhu, in charge of the fort, had thirty horses of fine breeds.²⁴¹ Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi has one hundred and twenty horses in his *paigah* (stable) and once he presented all these horses to his officer Saddu Khan.²⁴² While Azam Humayun Sarwani had forty five thousand *sawars* and maintained separate stables for the horses of different colours and breeds.²⁴³ Another Lodi noble is mentioned to have been granted annual allowance of one lakh *tankahs* for the purchase of horses.²⁴⁴ The nobles also received horses from Sultan as gifts. Once Sultan Sikandar Lodi gifted one hundred horses to Mian Muhammad.²⁴⁵ Besides horse, camels were also used by the nobles.²⁴⁶ It is mentioned that possessing of few varieties of camels was the privilege of only Sultans and high ranked nobles, Khans, Amirs or *wazirs*.²⁴⁷ Generally camels were used to carry their goods.²⁴⁸

The other means of conveyance commonly used by the nobles under the Delhi Sultans was *dula* or decorated palanquin. Besides horses, camels and elephants, *dula* was used for short distance journey.²⁴⁹ According to Ibn Battuta, the palanquins were

²³⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 202; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 249-250, 250-251; Victor S. D'Souza, 'A Unique Custom regarding Mahr (Dowry) observed by certain Indian Muslims of South India', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 29, October 1955, pp. 273-274.

²³⁹ Mir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 180; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 69, 82, 86, 97.

²⁴⁰ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 35; Joginder K. Chawla, 'Mode of Transport during the 13th and 14th Centuries', *Proc. I. H. C.*, Patiala, 1998, pp. 255-256.

²⁴¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 554; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 172.

²⁴² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 84.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 70.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 96.

²⁴⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 138; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 35; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 173; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 82; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 60.

²⁴⁷ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 35; Chawla, 'Mode of Transport', p. 255.

²⁴⁸ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 24.

²⁴⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 176; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 492; Eng. tr., p. 266; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 67-69; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 59; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 136; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, pp. 126, 137; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 201. Noble's bride was carried in a palanquin by slaves to the palace of the noble. For details see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 688; M. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, p. 219; Khawwas Khan reached the royal court seated

possessed by every person of status. The *kahars* (palanquin-bearers) were engaged by officers to carry them from place to place.²⁵⁰ It is also noticed that to cover long distance journey, nobles used *palki* that was dignified means of conveyance.²⁵¹ Malik Chhajju was sent from the capital city to Multan by Sultan Jalauddin Khalji in a palanquin.²⁵² Khusrau Khan was sent by the other nobles in a *palki* from Deogir to Delhi.²⁵³ Journeys were performed in a *palki* from Mabbar to Delhi,²⁵⁴ Delhi to Lahore²⁵⁵ and from Patan to Delhi.²⁵⁶

These palanquins of nobles were covered with rich trappings and were surrounded by retainers like horsemen, footmen, horn-blowers, torchbearers, musicians and servants. Drums were also beaten during the procession of a noble.²⁵⁷ Palanquins with curtains were also used to carry their ladies.²⁵⁸ Nobles like Tatar Khan (Tughlaqid noble) used covered palanquins for his slave girls and *dola* of harem ladies were covered with silk curtains.²⁵⁹

Afif referred an ornamental carriage which was sent by Sultan Firoz Shah for Khwaja Jahan,²⁶⁰ while Malik Shamsuddin Damghani got a silver palanquin from Sultan Firoz Shah when he was appointed the governor of Gujarat.²⁶¹ A very graphic

himself in a *palki*. Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 69, 78; Eng. tr., pp. 81-82; Nimatallah, *Makhzan*, Eng. tr., (anecdote from *Waqiat*), p. 132; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 59-60.

²⁵⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 740; Afif also mentions that the distance from Delhi to Firozabad was five *kos*. The means of conveyance were the human carriers. A regular service of carts, camels and horses shuttled daily between these two places at fixed hours. *Kahars* were available with *doli*. The fare of cart was four *jitals*; of oxen six *jitals*; of horses twelve *jitals* and of *doli* half *tankahs*. *Tarikh*, p. 136; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 59. Barani also mentions that for long distance journey *kahars* were commissioned. *Tarikh*, p. 400.

²⁵¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 184; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 60.

²⁵² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 184; Chawla, 'Mode of Transport', p. 257; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 61.

²⁵³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 400; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 212; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 286; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 90; Eng. tr., p. 198.

²⁵⁴ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 469.

²⁵⁵ S. H. Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of the Last Two Lodi Sultans of Delhi', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1955, p. 155.

²⁵⁶ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 137.

²⁵⁷ Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 267-268.

²⁵⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 542; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 492; Amir Khusrau, *Duwal Rani Khazir Khan*, pp. 233-254; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 329-335; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 990, 122; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 137; Paul Losensky and Sunil Sharma (tr.), *In the Bazaar of Love: The Selected Poetry of Amir Khusrau*, Delhi, 2011, p. 111; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 208-209; Verma, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177; Tatar Khan Farmuli's son was bringing his wife from his father-in-law's house. On reaching the edge of the river they put the palanquin on board the boat. Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 53. He also mentions that a noble carried his lady in a *tamu* (a chariot similar to *tanga*), *Ibid.*, p. 24; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 47, 49, 72; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr., (anecdotes from *Waqiat*), p. 148.

²⁵⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 740; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 173-174.

²⁶⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 62.

²⁶¹ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 132; Eng. tr. p. 139.

description of a palanquin sent by Makhdum Jahan, Sultan's mother, is given by Ibn Battuta that the *dola* (palanquin) which resembles a cot had its roof made of braids of silk or cotton and on top of these there was a covered piece of wood made of bamboo. The palanquin is carried by eight men in two lots of four, who rest and carried it in turn. Usually the *kahars* (palanquin-bearers) used to carry it.²⁶²

Boats as a means of transport were also used by the nobles.²⁶³ For the long distance journey via river boats were preferred by the nobles. When Minhaj set out for India passed through Ghazna and Multan and he reached Uchch in a boat.²⁶⁴ After reaching India, Ibn Battuta took a five day boat trip down the great river to the delta-port Lahiri in the company of governor Alaul-Mulk. He describes the governor's ship that had a separate cabin for the governor.²⁶⁵ Ferishta mentions that when Malik Mubarak Khan was intimated the advance of the army of Timur, he embarked with his family and treasures in two hundred boats prepared for the purpose and proceeded down the river.²⁶⁶ A Lodi noble, Nasir Khan Nuhani, after the completion of marriage ceremony went to his house with his newly wedded wife in a boat and thus palanquin was placed in the boat.²⁶⁷

Thus, it may be concluded that nobles were in a position to live extravagantly because of their immense wealth. They resided near the royal palaces and built their houses on the pattern of the royal palaces. Some of them even lived in the rented houses. The architecture and the engineering skills have been mentioned, though meager, by Amir Khusrau and Ibn Battuta which tend us to believe that the noble's houses were double storied, well furnished, contained vaulted halls, *hauz*, bathroom or privy, library, courtyard, threshold and portico with lofty pillars, painted walls and high doorways. They possessed palatial houses with all necessary comforts, costly and attractive furniture, carpets, gold and silver utensils.

²⁶² Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 740; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 122; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 54; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²⁶³ Minhaj mentions Malik Yuzbak used a boat for his return journey to Lakhnauti. *Tabaqat*, p. 172, 263; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 764; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salat*, p. 370; Eng. tr., pp. 571; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 110, 122, 144, 248. Here he referred to the rumour of sinking a boat carrying a noble's son. Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 42; Eng. tr., p. 39; Abdullah Wassaf, *Tazjiyat-ul-Ansar-wa-Tajriyat-ul-Asar*, Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 41; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 163; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 94; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 60.

²⁶⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 144; Mumtaz Ali Khan, *Some Important Persian Prose Writings of the 13th Century A.D. in India*, Aligarh, 1970, p. 121.

²⁶⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 601-602; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 10; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 186.

²⁶⁶ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 156.

²⁶⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 49; Eng. tr., p. 50.

They used to wear expensive dresses of silk, gold embroidered, brocaded and even sometimes studded with precious stones, jewels and pearls. Varieties of dishes were served to them on their dinning carpets. These dishes were served to them in a prescribed manner in gold, silver, glass and even in chinaware utensils. The *harem* institution and slave-girls as a part of noble's household reveals the fact that the nobles maintained slave-girls in larger number. Because of these slave girls, *harem* expanded with their busy domestic life and enhanced house-hold establishment. Moreover, we find indication of polygamy, widow remarriage, docile husband, divorce and, above all, the practice of harsh dowry system prevalent among the nobles.

CHAPTER-VI

Virtues and Vices

Scattered evidences illuminate the socio-cultural life of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans and emphasize their behaviour showing gifts and rewards, generosity and charitable acts as well as public welfare works undertaken by them. Besides, evidences also indicate the lowest vices in contrast with these highest virtues of the nobles.

A. Gifts and Rewards:

Customarily, the nobles received the royal favour and lavish gifts from the Sultan on several occasions. Generally, the Sultan's favours continued, without any charges, till the end of Sultan's reign.¹ However, the gifts were exchanged between Sultan and the nobles which included gold and silver, slaves, jewels, horses, elephants, weapons and embroidered robes.² Thus, on the appointment of Tatar Khan to the government of Bengal, he was given crore of gold *tankahs*, two thousand horses and one hundred elephants. Malik Sanjar Badakhshani was given seventy lakhs of *tankahs*; Malik-ul-Mulk Imaduddin was given eighty lakhs of *tankahs* and Maulana Azduddin forty lakhs.³ However, deviating from the prescribed custom, a Lodi noble Mian Maruf Farmuli had not accepted any reward or present from any Sultan.⁴

Since Delhi Sultanate was the outcome of the regular military pursuits, thus animals, horses and elephants were considered the precious gifts from the Sultan to the nobles and vice-versa. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq distributed ten thousand branded Arabian horses every year, some of them were with saddles and reins while the Turkish horses were distributed in herds without any counting.⁵ One hundred fine breed horses and two elephants, loaded with gold and silver, were presented by Aibek

¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 64.

² Amir Khusrau gives detail accounts of the gifts exchanged between Sultan Kaiqubad and Bughra Khan such as aloe, cloves, musk, ambergris, camphor, sandal, gold, jewels, pearls, quartz, horses, camel, swords, daggers, bows, slaves brought from Tartar and Khatun and brocaded and silken costumes. See *Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 132; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 397-398; Eng. tr., p. 604; Document, CAD (1352-1754), Vol. I, S. No. 5, Acc. No. 1266, National Archives of India, New Delhi; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

³ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 133.

⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 181.

⁵ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter no. 115, pp. 206-207; Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 15; Eng. tr., p. 9; Idem, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 60, 138, 149; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 78, 126-127; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, p. 39.

to Sultan Muizzuddin.⁶ Mian Muhammad Farmuli, on account of his rank and position, was once awarded one hundred and one horses by Sultan Sikandar Lodi.⁷

Exchange of war animals among the nobles was frequent. One Rai Nahar, governor of Warangal, presented seven thousand horses to Malik Kafur.⁸ Ibn Battuta presented horses to his companion Amir-i-Amiran Al-Kirmanī.⁹ Malik Mujir Abu Rija had presented many horses and gold from his *iqta* to Malik Fakhruddin Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq).¹⁰ Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi has one hundred and twenty horses which he presented to his officer Saddu Khan.¹¹ Sometimes horses were presented with other items.¹²

Presenting an elephant to a noble was honour and distinction. Sultan Iltutmish presented an elephant to Malik Nasiruddin Aiytim to honour him and ranked him high among all the nobles.¹³ But Tughlaqs discontinued this tradition since possession of elephants was considered as the royal prerogative.¹⁴ Seldom, the Tughlaq Sultan distributed elephant to his courtiers just for the purpose of transport, thus once Ibn Battuta was given an elephant to transport his baggage.¹⁵ A solitary reference suggests the presentation of six elephants by Sultan Firoz Shah to Malik Naib Barbak.¹⁶ The practice continued thus when the news of victory reached to Sultan Bahlol Lodi he rewarded Nizam Khan with five elephants and ten Arab horses.¹⁷

However, the elephants were frequently presented by the provincial governors to the Sultan. Malik Yughantat sent many elephants from Bengal to Sultan Iltutmish.

⁶ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 61.

⁷ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 96.

⁸ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 196; Eng. tr., p. 265.

⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 106-07. Amir Khusrau and others also mentions presenting of a horse by a noble to his subordinate. Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, pp. 14-15; Eng. tr., p. 9; Idem, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 60; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 89; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 82-87; Eng. tr., pp. 472-473.

¹⁰ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 397; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 604.

¹¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 84.

¹² Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 485; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 726-27; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 605; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, Eng. tr., p. 20; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 83.

¹³ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 236; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 728; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, Eng. tr., p. 20; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 83.

¹⁴ Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., p. 52.

¹⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 109.

¹⁶ Afif says that these elephants accompanied him in advance, whenever he (Naib Barbak) came to meet the Sultan. *Tarikh*, pp. 428-429; Eng. tr., pp. 235-236; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 18.

¹⁷ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 33-34.

Bengal has been a continuous source of elephants for the Sultans of Delhi Sultanate.¹⁸ Thus, Tatar Khan also sent sixty-three elephants from Lakhnauti as present to Sultan Balban.¹⁹ Malik Kafur is mentioned presenting 312 elephants along with 20,000 horses and other precious gifts to Sultan Alauddin Khalji.²⁰ Zafar Khan presented elephants to Sultan Firoz Shah²¹ and Dariya Khan Lodi, governor of Sambhal, presented seven elephants to Sultan Bahlol Lodi.²²

Camels were presented by the *muqtis* every year along with other costly articles.²³ Ibn Battuta, *Qazi* of Delhi, presented three camels to the Sultan.²⁴ A merchant governor of Gujarat, Tajuddin al-Kawlati used to present the Sultan costly gifts and camels to the Sultan.²⁵

Among the other commodities for gifts were the slaves (*kanizak*, slave girls), those frequently imported from Ethiopia and Berber via sea route. The Negro slaves were most desirable for commercial works.²⁶ Ten slave girls were once presented by Tughlaqid *wazir* to Ibn Battuta while Ibn Battuta himself presented a white slave to Malik Qutbul Mulk.²⁷ The provincial governors and *muqti* used to present slaves to the Sultan. *Khair-ul-Majalis* contains an anecdote referring to a *muqti* who presented a slave girl along with the robe to a *mutasarrif* (finance officer).²⁸

Gold embroidered robes were the precious gifts presented among the nobility. Khan-i-Jahan presented embroidered robes to Malik Imadul-Mulk Bashir Sultani.²⁹ Along with woven stuffs, pearls were also gifted by the nobles to the Sultan.³⁰ Malik

¹⁸ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 239; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 732; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 663; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 60-61; Eng. tr., pp. 86-87.

¹⁹ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 128; Eng. tr., p. 185.

²⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, Eng. tr., Fuller & Khallaque, p. 141; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 196-197; Eng. tr., pp. 265-266; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 120.

²¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 139, Eng. tr., p. 98.

²² Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 175; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 91; Eng. tr., p. 25.

²³ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 339-340; Eng. tr., p. 193.

²⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 756-757; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 202.

²⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 733-734; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 340; Eng. tr., p. 193.

²⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 186, 227; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 605; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 267-268; Eng. tr., p. 157; Lal, *Muslim Slave System*, p. 162.

²⁷ He presented a slave, a horse together with some raisins and almonds. Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 605; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 79.

²⁸ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 236-238; Irfan Habib, 'Slavery in the Delhi Sultanate', pp. 248-249.

²⁹ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 142, 237; Eng. tr., p. 142; Siddiqui, 'Social Mobility', pp. 30-31.

³⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 150.

Alauddin sent large amount of jewels to Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji.³¹ The lavish gift presented by *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan to the Sultan when the latter met him near Bayana on his return from Daulatabad consisted three trays each full of rubies, emeralds and the precious pearls.³² It is also evident that the vessels of gold and silver were presented by the provincial governors to the Sultans.³³ Enormous gifts, in cash and kind, were presented by Khan-i-Jahan to Sultan Firoz Shah.³⁴ Raja Man, Governor of Gwalior, offered Sultan Bahlol an amount of eighty lakhs of *tankahs*.³⁵

The imperial mandate (*farman-i-tughra*) was issued in the name of the foreign merchants for the supply of rare gifts and precious products which were handed over to the *mutasarrifan* (finance officers) and then these imported gifts were stored in royal storehouse under the supervision of Khwaja Jahan.³⁶ (See Appendix-A)

B. Charity:

The nobles, like Sultans, deserve appreciation for their important contribution to the life and culture of the period. The Maliks and Amirs were thus expected to be bountiful and generous towards the people and share with them what they got from the Sultan. Amir Khusrau advised them 'to be like a bucket which takes out water and pours it on the thirsty. Do not be like sand which absorbs all that comes to it'.³⁷ He further compares the relation between generosity and nobility in terms of the relation of rain and cloud.³⁸

Charity and public welfare works provide us an idea not only about the wealth and the consumption levels of the nobles but also their generous nature towards the common people. It is said that in the Sultanate the beggars and the handicapped

³¹ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 68; Eng. tr., p. 66.

³² Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 663; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 89-90; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 82-83; Eng. tr., pp. 473-474. The value of the jewels is differs from Abdullah. Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 78; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

³³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 663.

³⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 123, 250, 427; Eng. tr., pp. 70, 147-148, 235; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah presented every year four lakhs of *tankahs* as presents to Sultan. See, Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 427; Eng. tr., p. 235.

³⁵ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 313; Eng. tr., p. 410.

³⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 185-186, 227.

³⁷ Idem, *Nuh Sipih*, p. 254; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. xii.

³⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 303.

sons, who used to sit on the way side, did not have to cry for the money.³⁹ Hasan Nizami mentions that Qiwam-ul-Mulk Ruknuddin Hamza, the chief *sadr*, had passionately devoted himself to the cause of charity and general beneficence.⁴⁰ The *Amir Khusrau* records one of the duties of *muqti* that they should strengthen the foundations of charity and the edifices of the works of public welfare.⁴¹

In view of Ziauddin Barani there occurred strong competition in their philanthropy among the *Maliks* and *Khans*. Whenever one *Khan* or *Malik* heard that another *Khan* or *Malik* had fed five hundred persons, the former felt ashamed and he used to feed a thousand persons. If he learnt that a certain *Khan* at the time of a journey gave two hundred *tankahs* in charity then other tried to give four hundred *tankahs* in charity. If a particular *Khan* in his wine party gave fifty horses and presents to two hundred persons, another grew jealous and gave charity to five hundred persons.⁴² This mutual competition worked in two ways: one that nobles never acknowledge the superiority of other nobles. Secondly, the poor people were benefitted at large. In view of Barani excessive generosity of the nobles made poor to go beyond their means.⁴³ Minhaj highly praised the Shamsi nobles for their liberality and generosity. He mentions Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Gazlak Khan and Malik Tughril Khan as men of many virtues that in liberality and generosity they had no equal in those days.⁴⁴ Balban, as a *Khan*, was famous for his charitable acts among the Shamsi nobles and spent large sum of money on distributing largesse. He often gave horses, costly clothes and other things as presents to saints and other associates. He supported the family of religious men and gave assistance to the poor and the

Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 77; Vol. IV, p. 202; Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 19; Eng. tr., p. 19.

Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., p. 107; Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 137, 138, 139; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, pp. 60-61; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., p. 172.

Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 119-120; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 16; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 159. Ahmad Yadgar mentions that once Daulat Khan Farmuli in a fit of jealousy because of large hearted charity and generosity by Miyan Husain Khan, informed Sultan Sikandar (thinking that Sultan would get angry upon Miyan) that Miyan Husain Khan was extravagantly spending (spoiling) his wealth. To which Sultan replied that he was thanking to God that he had such generous Amirs about whom historians will write in their histories. Then Sultan called Miyan Husain and awarded him with a *khil'at* and increased his *iqta* by adding Chandpur and Nadina in his assignments. See Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 61-62.

Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 28; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 229-231, 232, 242; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 736.

needy.⁴⁵ Similarly, Haibat Khan Gurg-andaz, a Lodi noble, was much liberal in his charity works.⁴⁶

The nobles drew inspiration in their social life from the imperial court and tried to emulate the Sultan in all their social and cultural activities. In certain respect their assemblies were miniature court of the Sultan and their generosity, which often exceeds their means, evoked the Sultan's criticism.⁴⁷ A Shamsi noble Malik Fakhruddin used to disburse stipends and scholarships to twelve thousand pupils who recited the *Quran* continuously throughout the day. The socio-religious act of charity was also in practice, thus copyists of Quran were lavishly rewarded.⁴⁸ Malik Imadul Mulk Rawat-i-Arz gave several villages in charity. The income derived from these villages was given to the needy persons and spent in meeting the expenses of feeding persons and readers of the *Quran*. Malik Ameer Ali *Sarjandar* was nicknamed *Hatim Khan* for his generosity and charitable dispositions. He never gave less than a thousand *tankahs* in charity along with horses and robes. He distributed gold and silver *tankahs* to the wandering *darveshes* in the streets. When Sultan came to know about his charity, he was pleased and increased his *iqta* and grants.⁴⁹

However, on account of their competitive generosity and charitable acts, the *Maliks*, *Khans* and other nobles had always been in debt.⁵⁰ The Jalali noble Malik Qutbuddin Alvi gave two hundred decorated well equipped horses, clothes and cap to thousand men in charity on the occasion of his son's marriage. Another Jalali noble Malik Nusrat Subah was called 'Second Alai Kishli Khan' because of his charitable acts. The excessive charity dragged him in debt.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 45, 66, 81, 83, 84, 113-114; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, pp. 155-156.

⁴⁶ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 109-110; Eng. tr., p. 33.

⁴⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 113; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 155.

⁴⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 117; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 92; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 16; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 117, 118-119; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 16; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 197. Barani mentions that Amir Khusrau composed a poem, *Asp-Namah*, in praise of Malik Amir Ali *Sarjandar*. He thus extols his generosity in one of his *qasidas*. See *Tarikh*, p. 118.

⁵⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 120; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 25; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 160.

⁵¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 202, 204.

Afif praised the *Khans*, *Maliks* and *Amirs* of the Tughlaq period for their involvement in public welfare.⁵² Malik Ibrahim, *naib-barbak*, was famous for providing comforts to the needy that Afif compares him with other generous nobles of Sultan Firoz Shah and further remarks that some nobles even surpassed him.⁵³ Under the Lodi Sultans the nobles distributed sheets of cloth among the widows and garments among the beggars. On Fridays, in every house *jumagi* (amount of money for distribution on Friday) was set aside for distributing to the beggars.⁵⁴

In the *prashasti*, dated 1555 V.S./1498 A.D., it is recorded that one Siha belonging to *Vahkata gotra* of the Vaishya caste became famous for his charities and was appointed as *tankasal* (incharge of mint) by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq Shah.⁵⁵ Mulla Daud, author of famous Hindi *masnavi Chandayan*, praised Malik Mubarak (Amir of Dalmau) for his charity works and even compared his act of charity with *karana* (of the great epic *Mahabharata*).⁵⁶ An inscription of Jaunpur mosque referred a noble Khwaja Kamil son of Khan-i-Jahan as “the master of charity.”⁵⁷

Likewise, Lodi nobles were generous and Sultan Sikandar Lodi encouraged charity of all descriptions and did not fail to commend his nobles for any generous acts.⁵⁸ It was practice of Khwaja Jauhar (*parwana-navis* or the secretary of Khawwas Khan and Mian Bhua), a low rank Lodi noble, to attend office every morning but did not start work before making some gifts for charity.⁵⁹ Besides gold and silver, other items of the necessity of life were distributed by nobles among the poor. Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan supplied dresses (*qad*) to his servants.⁶⁰

Nobles also made great display of their hospitality on special occasions and

⁵² Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 438; Eng. tr., p. 240. For Qutlugh Khan, See Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 718.

⁵³ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 434; Eng. tr., p. 238.

⁵⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 18; Eng. tr., pp. 17-18.

⁵⁵ *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, Vol. IV, p. 87 as quoted by Day, *Medieval Malwa*, pp. 422-423.

⁵⁶ Mata Prasad Gupta, *Chandayana*, 1969, Agra, pp. 1-15; Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Maulana Daud Krit Chandayana*, Bombay, 1964, pp. 13-14, 84.

⁵⁷ *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement)*, 1964, pp. 12-13 (Hereafter cited as *EIAPS*); *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-59, D-202 (Hereafter cited as *ARIE*). This Jaunpur Mosque was constructed in 756 A.H./1364 A.D., during one reign of Firoz Shah.

⁵⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 77, 85-86, 181, 183; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 40; Eng. tr., p. 450; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 219; Eng. tr., Roy, pp. 97-98; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 59-60; Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 202; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 396; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 171; Eng. tr., p. 388; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 186.

⁵⁹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 77; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr., (anecdotes from *Waqait*) p. 132.

⁶⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 91; Eng. tr., pp. 97-98; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 83-84.

spent lavishly on feeding of the people.⁶¹ Ibn Battuta, himself on several great occasions distributed food among the poor.⁶² Similarly, Khawwas Khan, a Lodi noble, distributed food among the beggars and maintained this tradition and helped the destitute throughout his life.⁶³ Similarly every year, on the death anniversary of the Prophet of Islam Mian Zainuddin, a Lodi noble spent two thousand *tankahs* daily, for twelve days, on food preparations.⁶⁴ Shaikh Ibrahim, *muqti* of Dhar, had built a hospice on a hillock at Dhar and used to feed the wayfarers.⁶⁵ Ain ul-Mulk Mahru distributed grains, piece of goods and other things of necessity to the poor people in time of draught. To support this pious act, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq rewarded him with eighty lakhs of *tankahs* worth of cash and grain and other various kinds of things.⁶⁶ Shamsuddin Muhammad, the *Sadr*, was generous towards the poor and run a kitchen for the poor.⁶⁷ Certain philanthropists among the Lodis deserve mention like Khawwas Khan, Mian Sulaiman Farmuli, Mian Zabaruddin and Mian Zainuddin who maintained large kitchens from where victuals were freely distributed.⁶⁸

During the time of famine, the *wazir* of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq ordered *amirs* and Qazis for feeding the poor and indigent people. Ibn Battuta, being the *qazi* of Delhi, had to manage the food for five hundred poor people. Ibn Battuta lodged them in the veranda of two houses and gave them food for continuous five days. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah was pleased with Ibn Battuta and awarded him with the royal robe.⁶⁹ Once famine occurred in the *vilayet* of Nagaur and many people including beggars flocked to Nagaur. There were two thousand five hundred houses in the town which had to be supplied food provisions. Khawwas Khan, a Lodi noble, provided two *ser* food grain fixed per head of each family member. Once to meet the

⁶¹ Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 185; Eng. tr., p. 141; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 133.

⁶² Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 142-143; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 94.

⁶³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 150; Eng. tr., p. 165.

⁶⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 72, 75; Eng. tr., pp. 75, 74-75, 78.

⁶⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 117, 167.

⁶⁶ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p.104; Eng. tr., p. 225.

⁶⁷ I. H. Siddiqui, 'Historical Significance of the Fourteenth century Farhang literature' in *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life and Conditions in the Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1992, p. 84.

⁶⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 71-75, 76, 80, 81-82; Eng. tr., pp. 75, 79, 86. For the kitchens and distribution of free food of Lodi nobles, see *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 83, 110; Eng. tr., p. 20; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 81; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 58, 83; Shaikh Abdus Quddus Gangohi, *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, Delhi, A. H. 1287/1894 A. D., Letter no. 62, pp. 449-451; Siddiqui, 'Food Dishes', p. 133.

⁶⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 204.

scarcity of grains, Khawwas Khan ordered the dry fruits to be distributed, thus almonds, dried grapes and walnuts were distributed.⁷⁰

Besides, nobles provided travelling provisions to the travellers. The travellers and strangers were also provided the provisions.⁷¹ It is recorded that a governor Sharif Jalaluddin al-Kiji gave Ibn Battuta his (assigned) villages for the use of its revenues when the latter required large sum of money for his expenses. They provided horses and food to the travellers and even lodged them with hospitality that was the outstanding virtue of the Sultanate aristocracy.⁷² Khawwas Khan treated recluses and poor people in friendly way and showed love and kindness to them. He provided all of them with mattresses, beds and sleeping garments.⁷³ Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan supplied dresses to his servants and travellers in winters. Besides head to foot dresses, he used to fix daily allowances to the travelers as long as they stayed in his court.⁷⁴

The arrangement of poor girl's marriage was important aspect of the noble's charity. Thus like Sultans, the nobles offered financial assistance to the poor parents. Establishment of *Diwan-i-Khairat* indicates that the public welfare works became an institution under the Delhi Sultans. The anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* informs us that people from different quarters of the country frequently visited the city mosque of Firozabad, the head office of the *Diwan-i-Khairat*, to receive assistance for performing marriages.⁷⁵ However, the nobles extended dowry and other necessary articles to the poor parents for arranging marriages of their daughters. The practice continued upto the time of the Lodis. Mian Zainuddin, *muqti* of Badaon, used to arrange dowry for the marriages of the poor with everything such as jewellery, clothes, cot, sleeping dress and even the palanquin, in case the person happened to be a respectable one.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 150; Eng. tr., pp. 164-65; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 100-102; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 258.

⁷¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 169.

⁷² Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 605-606; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 188, 222, 604; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 259.

⁷³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 149-150.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 91; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 475; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 131.

⁷⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 329-51; Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 245; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 144; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁷⁶ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 72. For the assistance provided by Asad Khan Yusuf Khail, see Ibid., p. 83; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 82; Eng. tr., pp. 471-472; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 58; Hameed-ud-Din, 'Indian Culture', p. 32; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 16-17.

scarcity of grains, Khawwas Khan ordered the dry fruits to be distributed, thus almonds, dried grapes and walnuts were distributed.⁷⁰

Besides, nobles provided travelling provisions to the travellers. The travellers and strangers were also provided the provisions.⁷¹ It is recorded that a governor Sharif Jalaluddin al-Kiji gave Ibn Battuta his (assigned) villages for the use of its revenues when the latter required large sum of money for his expenses. They provided horses and food to the travellers and even lodged them with hospitality that was the outstanding virtue of the Sultanate aristocracy.⁷² Khawwas Khan treated recluses and poor people in friendly way and showed love and kindness to them. He provided all of them with mattresses, beds and sleeping garments.⁷³ Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan supplied dresses to his servants and travellers in winters. Besides head to foot dresses, he used to fix daily allowances to the travelers as long as they stayed in his court.⁷⁴

The arrangement of poor girl's marriage was important aspect of the noble's charity. Thus like Sultans, the nobles offered financial assistance to the poor parents. Establishment of *Diwan-i-Khairat* indicates that the public welfare works became an institution under the Delhi Sultans. The anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* informs us that people from different quarters of the country frequently visited the city mosque of Firozabad, the head office of the *Diwan-i-Khairat*, to receive assistance for performing marriages.⁷⁵ However, the nobles extended dowry and other necessary articles to the poor parents for arranging marriages of their daughters. The practice continued upto the time of the Lodis. Mian Zainuddin, *muqti* of Badaon, used to arrange dowry for the marriages of the poor with everything such as jewellery, clothes, cot, sleeping dress and even the palanquin, in case the person happened to be a respectable one.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 150; Eng. tr., pp. 164-65; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 100-102; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 258.

⁷¹ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 169.

⁷² Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 605-606; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 188, 222, 604; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 259.

⁷³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 149-150.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 91; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 84; Eng. tr., p. 475; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 131.

⁷⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 329-51; Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 245; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 144; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁷⁶ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 72. For the assistance provided by Asad Khan Yusuf Khail, see Ibid., p. 83; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 82; Eng. tr., pp. 471-472; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 58; Hameed-ud-Din, 'Indian Culture', p. 32; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 16-17.

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⁷⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 329-51; Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 245; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 144; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

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It appears that dowry was the prevalent evil of the Sultanate society. Marriages without dowry were difficult for the poor. However, this rogue practice was neither banned nor controlled by the state but destitute were supported either by the state, from *Diwan-i-Khairat*, or by the nobles from their personal earnings.

Helping the widows and orphans was considered a sacred duty. Qutbuddin Aibek gave to them in charity enormous sums of money.⁷⁷ Khawwas Khan used to give maintenance allowance to the widows. Mian Sulaiman Farmuli distributed clothes and blankets among widows with sheets of cloth during the winter and the rainy seasons.⁷⁸ Malik Bustan Kakar (held the *pargana* of Samana) granted stipends (*wazaiif*) to three hundred widows and made financial arrangements for their upkeep.⁷⁹

The nobles not only patronizing the scholars and poets rather they took utmost interest in learning thus established educational institutions with the grants of the state.⁸⁰ The tradition set by Qutbuddin Aibek was followed by his successors. The Khalji noble Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji had built *khanqaahs* and *madrasas* in Lahknawti. Malik Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji also constructed *jamias* (schools) and gave *wazifa* (stipends) to the religious teachers.⁸¹ Generally, the *madrasas* were attached with the mosques and tombs. The Khan-i-Jahan's mosque for example, was attached with *madarsa*.⁸² In *madrasas*, reputed scholars, well versed in Islamic sciences, were appointed by the nobles.⁸³ Malik Bustan Kakar, who held the *pargana* of Samana, had established *madrasas* and Maulana Ahmad, the leading scholar of the town was entrusted with the supervision of the *madrasas*.⁸⁴

Construction of *khanqaahs* by the nobles was one of the pious acts. The governors and commanders had constructed *khanqaahs* in their respective territories

⁷⁷ *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, p. 35 as quoted by Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 144.

⁷⁸ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 82, 149; Eng. tr., pp. 86, 164.

⁷⁹ Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Vol. II, p. 886-887; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 82-83.

⁸⁰ Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁸¹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 151, 161; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 23; Eng. tr., p. 51; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 58; Eng. tr., 83; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 155; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 29, 139; Malik Nasiruddin Qubacha, governor of Multan under Aibek founded a *madrasa* at his seat of governance and put it under the charge of Maulana Qutbuddin Kashani. Cf. J. L. Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, Delhi, 1983, p. 159.

⁸² Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firoz Shah', p. 31.

⁸³ Nigam, 'Administrative Training', p. 91.

⁸⁴ Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Vol. II, p. 886-887; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 82-83.

right from the time of Sultan Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam.⁸⁵ The hagiographical literature tend to suggest that nobles of the Delhi Sultanate frequently attempted to extend financial support, in term of cash and village grant (*madad-i-ma'ash*) to the Chishti saints of the period (Shaikh Baba Farid, Shaikh Nizammuddin Auliya and Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri) but the saints adamantly rejected these offers.⁸⁶ Zainuddin Majdul Mulk, the *muqti* of Bihar, had built a *khanqah* for Hazrat Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, the famous Sufi saint, by the order of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Revenue of Rajgir was assigned for the upkeep of this *khanqah*. Earlier, the Sufi declined to accept the *jagir* as gift but later, reluctantly accepted it.⁸⁷ The *khanqahs* not only served the religious and pious people rather provided the shelters for the travelers. Ibn Battuta witnessed many *khanqahs* on his route from Delhi to Daulatabad.⁸⁸ The *muqti* of Dhar, Shaikh Ibrahim, built a *khanqah* at the city of Dhar for the wayfarers.⁸⁹ However, the *khanqahs*, in general, maintained free kitchens for the travelers and needy persons supported by the donations of the nobles.

C. Public Welfare Works:

The welfare activity, as essential duties of the Sultans and nobles, comprised among other measures the safety of the roads and to create amiable conditions in the populace.⁹⁰ An important *parwana* (dated 1193 A.D.), issued by Qutbuddin Aibek casts light on the concern that the Sultan or his deputy in India had for the welfare of the people. The deputy *sipahsalar* has been directed through the *parwana* to provide protection to the *raiyat* and the traders and ensure impartial justice. Every effort should be made to render the roads safe and protect the highways and bridges for the convenience of traders who serve as liaison between different countries and came from abroad with choice products of other countries. The worthy and virtuous people should not be neglected. The travellers and guests should be looked after, no discrimination be made between the rich and poor in this regard. Money should be

⁸⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 151; Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 67; An early 13th century inscription from West Bengal refers to the construction of *khanqah*. *ELAPS*, 1975, pp. 8-9; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-i-Mudabbir*, London, 1927, pp. 16-18 as quoted by Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 28.

⁸⁶ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, pp. 98-99, 171; Mir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 156-157; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 186-187, 188; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

⁸⁷ *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* (Calcutta), pp. 133-134 and *Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani*, ff 4b-5a as quoted by Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 64.

⁸⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 44; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 63.

⁸⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 167.

⁹⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Nuh Sipahr*, pp. 229, 239, 242.

served for charitable purposes.⁹¹ Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru records the duty of a governor for the public welfare and other generous acts. According to the document justice, beneficence, public welfare and liberalities were the guidance principles of the state. The document permitted Mahru to undertake the affairs of the state, build the cities, for the public and the welfare of common people.⁹²

Another *manshur* contained the guidance for the governor of Sind Prince Fath Khan, directed to promote agriculture, look after the prosperity of the subjects and the contentment of the army and particularly to show kindness and consideration to Saiyyads, Ulama and the Sufis. Special favours had to be conferred on faithful servants of the state.⁹³

The noble's concern for the safety of common people and peasantry has been evident from Minhaj's account. It is recorded in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that Sultan Iltutmish appointed one of his trusted noble Malik Tajuddin Sanjar-i-Gazkal Khan as the governor of Uchch. Being a just administrator, Tajuddin brought together both the respected and the common people without any partiality. Thus, he provided safety and security to peasantry and the others alike. He pursued the charitable foundations and works of public utility.⁹⁴ Likewise, Malik Saifuddin Aibek the other Turkish noble of Sultan Iltutmish gained his name and fame in his assigned territory with regard to his benevolence and care to the safety of the people. When Sultan Iltutmish made him the *Sar-i-Jandar* (Chief of the *jandars*) with three lac *jitals*, in advance, for maintenance of his position, he joined the office against his wishes. On Sultan's enquiry about his reluctance Malik Saifuddin explained that his attachment with an office of affliction incite fear in him that he would not be able to practice blood-shedding, torture, extortion and oppression upon the subjects (Muslims and Hindus both). Malik Saifuddin prayed, further, to the Sultan for assignment of other official works. Consequently, Sultan Iltutmish pleased with him and showed great reliance on him and gave him the *iqta* of Narnul.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., p. 172; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 49; Siddiqui, *Perso-Arabic Sources*, pp. 167-189.

⁹² Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 3, pp. 11-12.

⁹³ Ibid., Letter No. 1, pp. 2-8.

⁹⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 232-233, 237-238.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 237.

It is worth noting that from the inception of the Delhi sultanate, the governors and officials encouraged the foreign merchants to come and settle in India. Minhaj records the achievement of Tughril, the governor of Bayana, that during his rule large number of merchants and scholars from Khurasan and even from different parts of Hindustan migrated to Bayana. In turn, Tughril facilitated provisions and resources for their settlements to encourage trade in the region.⁹⁶ Balban as a *Khan* worked for the prosperity of the province assigned to him.⁹⁷ However, the efforts were also made to colonize the waste land by the *Malik-ul-Tujjar*, in the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.⁹⁸ Thus steps were taken to bring waste land under the plough and to restore the settlements that were attached to pious foundations like the tombs of the *Shiakh*s and the past Sultans.⁹⁹

The epigraphic evidence sheds significant light on the welfare measures taken by the nobles by constructing step-wells, artificial lakes and other buildings of public.¹⁰⁰ In 1211 A.D. Badruddin Sanqar constructed a *hauz* at Palwal which provided water to both men and animals.¹⁰¹ Ghazi Malik (later Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq) under the Khalji Sultans had dug tanks and canals, laid out gardens, founded towns and constructed buildings of public utility and rehabilitated the desolated villages and barren lands were brought under cultivation.¹⁰² Anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* provides valuable information that the *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul took measures to create conditions favourable for socio-economic growth in his *iqta*. A number of canals, *sarais* and *bazaars* were constructed and gardens planted by him.¹⁰³

Inscription from Kaman (Bharatpur district) refers to the benevolent work done by Malik Bahauddin Tughril. It refers to the construction of a well, tank and a mosque

⁹⁶ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 145; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 545; Habib & Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, Vol. V, p. 170; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 43; M. S. Ahluwalia, *Muslim Expansion in Rajasthan (The Relations of Delhi Sultanate with Rajasthan 1206-1526)*, Delhi, 1978, p. 47; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101, 103.

⁹⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 45.

⁹⁸ Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 292-93.

⁹⁹ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 130, 332-333.

¹⁰⁰ *ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos. D-119, D-138, D-155; *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. D-198, D-204; *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. D-338, D-341, D-343, D-349; *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 1-24.

¹⁰¹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, pp. 1-3 (Hereafter cited as *EIM*); Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 139.

¹⁰² Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 441-442.

¹⁰³ Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 150; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 275. For Ali Quli, a noble who had dug and repaired canals for public welfare, see Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 114, pp. 204-205.

(popularly known as Chaurasi Khamba masjid) at Kaman.¹⁰⁴ The officials of Sultan Firoz Shah were ordered to establish hospitals for general public and proficient and competent surgeons, doctors and physicians were appointed therein.¹⁰⁵ Alongwith the hospitals, the *muqtis* and other officials were ordered to establish orphanages in their respective regions.¹⁰⁶

D. Bribes and Corruption:

Corruption was the rampant social evil of the medieval urban society which even engulfed the nobility of the Delhi Sultanate.¹⁰⁷ Alarmed with this social evil, Amir Khusrau helplessly prays that 'May his son keep himself free from the filth of corruption!'¹⁰⁸ However, corruption eclipsed the public servants so much so that the general masses became habitual of paying bribes.¹⁰⁹ Evidence suggests that initially corruption infused in the Sultanate society by the Indians, since the early historian Hasan Nizami records that the Indian King of Kalinjar sought the intercession of some of the leading nobles and courtiers by offering riches and elephants as bribe to implore Sultan Iltutmish to spare his life.¹¹⁰ However, it may be assumed that the active indulgence of the nobles in constructing spacious mansions, frequently exchanging costly gifts, maintaining a large harem and living lavish life could not be made with their salaries and assignments alone. Therefore, the nobles of the Sultanate period augmented their income by other means which indicates the prevalence of corruption among the nobility.¹¹¹

Afif mentions Malik Imadul Mulk Bashir Sultani, who amassed probably the largest wealth in the Sultanate period. He accumulated crores of *tankahs*, to which required so many gunny bags that amounted to cost 2,500 *tankahs*. Most of the nobles

¹⁰⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, International Committee (ed.), Vol. XLIX, India: Rajasthan I, (Part IV, *Persian Inscriptions down to early Safawid period*), London, 1986, p. 50; Mehrdad Shokoohy & Natalie H. Shokoohy, *Architecture*, pp. 114-132.

¹⁰⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 357; Eng. tr., p. 202.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 267-273; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 215.

¹⁰⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 62; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁸ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 259.

¹⁰⁹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salat*, pp. 446-447; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 151; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 149.

¹¹⁰ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, Eng. tr., p. 239.

¹¹¹ Lal, *Legacy*, p. 173. See also, Fazeela Shahnawaz, 'Bribes, Corruption and the Nobles of Delhi Sultanate', *Central India Journal of Historical and Archaeological Research (CIJAR)*, Vol. 3, No. 9, January-March 2014, pp. 134-137.

of Firoz Shah were wealthy but none possessed more wealth than Malik Bashir Sultani.¹¹²

Under the Tughlaqs there is an evidence of defrauding the government by the officials. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq struck upon the novel idea of large-scale farm cultivation, under which an area of 30 *krohs* (45 miles) was set aside for intensive farming in which not a patch had to be left uncultivated by changing crops constantly. A hundred *shiqqdars* were appointed to supervise the project. They were expected to cultivate thousands of *bighas* of land and also to reclaim waste land. Each one of them received fifty thousand *tankahs* in cash as advance (*sondhar*) from the state. But they turned out to be greedy and dishonest, thus cheated the government, squandered the money on personal needs and did not care to cultivate the allotted area. The avarious *shiqqdars* embezzled the advance amount, consequently the loss of state amounted about 70,00,000 *tankahs*.¹¹³

Afif mentions corruption in the *Diwan-i-Arz*. Horses of little value were brought to the *Diwan* and were passed as serviceable, obviously by bribing the clerks of the department. Once Sultan Firoz Shah overheard a soldier complaining to a friend that since he did not have the necessary amount to pay as bribe, he had not been able to get a fitness certificate for his horse at the *Diwan-i-Arz*. On enquiry by the Sultan, the soldier said that by paying a gold *tankah* he could get a certificate for his horse.¹¹⁴

Afif referred to the deception made by Kajar Shah (Master of the Mint responsible for striking the *shashgani* coin). As the coin went into circulation, it was reported to the Sultan by two secret reporters that the officials had been stealing one grain of silver in the *shashgani* (six *jitals*) coin during its minting. Sultan ordered the investigation. Therefore *wazir* decided for secret investigation because the minting process had to be kept confidential. Thus, the *wazir* summoned Kajar Shah and assured his support. Kajar Shah went to the mint and truthfully investigated the case, thus finally the mint artisans admitted their guilt of putting one grain less silver in the

¹¹² Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 439-440. He was corrupt and even his subordinates in the ministry of war misappropriated the salary of the soldiers. Habib & Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, Vol. V, p. 663; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 171.

¹¹³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 499; Lal, *Legacy*, pp. 175-176.

¹¹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 301. For more details in the corruption in *Diwan-i-Arz*, see Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 117; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 459, 477, 483.

coin. Kajar Shah reported to the *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan that the allegation was correct and the workers had accepted their guilt. The prime minister told Kajar Shah to contact the goldsmiths and take them into confidence to contrive the purity of the coin to show publicly that *shashgani* was not deficient in silver content. Kajar Shah contacted the goldsmiths and charcoal dealers to contrive the testing. While the Sultan was conversing with the *wazir*, the goldsmith put the concealed silver in the crucible. After the coins had melted, the crucible was taken off and the silver content weighed in the presence of the Sultan. The weight was found to be correct and the informers were proved wrong. Sultan awarded a robe to Kajar Shah as an honour but some time later Khan-i-Jahan dismissed Kajar Shah on some other pretext.¹¹⁵ The reference indicates that though the *wazir* knew about the existence of corruption in the royal mint but he could not allow the government to get into disrepute and thus made stratagem. However, in this episode the honest secret reporters were, thus, proved wrong and were thus exiled.

Sensing corruption in the revenue department, Sultan Alauddin Khalji established *Diwan-i-Mustakhraj* to assess the arrears of revenue lying in the names of collectors. Thus dishonest *amils* and *karkuns* were punished and drastic measures were taken to stop corruption among the *patwaris* and other lower rank officials of the revenue department.¹¹⁶ Barani records that the *muqti* was responsible for the accounts of his provincial revenue to the *Diwan-i-Wazarat*. Thus, the *muqtis*, who embezzled the money and temper with the accounts and exact more than the specified share from the *iqta*, would be punished with chains and imprisonment.¹¹⁷

A Tughlaqid noble Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (*mustaufi-i-mamalik*/Auditor General) was a professional bribe-taker, embezzler and that a tyrant. His notoriety can be estimated well that Shams Siraj Afif devoted thirty-five pages to records the crimes of Shamsuddin Abu Rija. The three years, during which he held the office of auditor general, he harassed all the officers, *zamindars*, and *amils*. He was extremely

¹¹⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 344-349; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, pp. 123-124. Amir Khusrau also referred to minting of counterfeit coins. See *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 178.

¹¹⁶ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 289-292, 385; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 181; Lal, *Khaljis*, pp. 252-254; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, p. 122.

¹¹⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 431; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211. Ibn Battuta also mentions a case of embezzlement of money in the revenue department. For details see *Rehla*, pp. 170-171; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, pp. 124-125.

harsh and unkind and used to extract huge bribe from the assignments of the other nobles. At last, the news of his corruption reached to the Sultan and he, on the advice of the *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan, ordered an inquiry.¹¹⁸ Abu Rija was arrested by the royal orders and his mansion was searched and reserves of gold were dug out. His belongings were estimated eighty thousand *tankahs*. The search further disclosed another three thousand gold *mohurs* from other secret complex. Consequently, he was tortured so severely by the orders of Khan-i-Jahan that he could never ride a horse again.¹¹⁹ (See Appendix-B)

Even the judiciary was not free from corruption. Zia Barani cryptically remarks about Qazi Hamiduddin Multani that it would not be proper to write about his qualities in history. He further says that not the God fearing and abstemious but corruptible, greedy and mundane people were appointed as *Qazis*. His complaint was that the *qazis* used to stretch the meaning of the Quranic texts to carry out the wishes of the Sultan.¹²⁰ Amir Hasan Sijzi mentions in *Fawaid-ul-Fua'd* that the father of Ain-ul-Quzzat was a *qazi* who accepted bribes and lived on forbidden earnings.¹²¹ Maulana Shamsuddin Turk, an Egyptian, informed to Sultan Alauddin Khalji that the evil men of his fellow country behaved as a *qazi* and cheating both the accuser and the accused.¹²² Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru records that when Firoz Shah Tughlaq was on Lakhnauti expedition, in his absence the employees of the department of *Quzzat* with the connivance of the *Qazis* misappropriated the *jizyah*, on the pretext that *jizyah* belonged to the owner of the lands. Mahru contested this unlawful practice but in vain.¹²³

Amir Khusrau refers to one Hindu official named Deochand, who in conspiracy with the governor of Manikpur, had misappropriated the revenue.¹²⁴ Likewise, Kamal ud-din, *muqti* of Uchch, was accused of using forced labour and extracting money

¹¹⁸ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 457-492, 459-462, 477-481, 487-492.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 487-492; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, pp. 125-126; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 170-171. For other details, see Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 32, 77, 63-65; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, pp. 148-149.

¹²⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 446; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 318-323; Askari, 'Life and Conditions', p. 82.

¹²¹ Sijzi, *Fawaid-ul-Fua'd*, p. 83; Eng. tr., p. 194.

¹²² Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 229; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 163; Idem., *Legacy*, p. 181.

¹²³ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 28, pp. 61-63.

¹²⁴ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, p. 46; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 228.

from them.¹²⁵ Qazi Sardul Mulk, *muqta* of Mahoba, was punished to death by Sultan Firoz Shah for having embezzled fifty lakhs from the treasury.¹²⁶

Sultan Sikandar Lodi harshly audited the accounts of *muqtis*.¹²⁷ Mubarak Khan Lodi, *muqta* of Jaunpur, was the first whose accounts were being inspected and finally ordered to pay large sums which he had embezzled, to the state treasury.¹²⁸ Similarly Khwaja Asghar, a non-Afghan *muqta* of Delhi, was thrown in prison for corruption.¹²⁹ But Sultan's harsh measures need no response from the nobles. Malik Mujahid Khan, the garrison commandant of Dholpur fort, took daring step with the promise bribe from the Raja of Uditnagar at the time of its siege and had promised that he would divert the Sultan Sikandar Lodi back from the fort of Antagarh, which was earlier captured by the Sultan. Since plot disclosed, thus Mujahid Khan was arrested by the order of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.¹³⁰

Thus, evidences suggest that the high ranked nobles were not averse to taking bribes. Such nobles, it was believed, spared nobody and every common man who contacted them had to grease their palms.¹³¹ The subjects were oppressed for illegal gratification both by lower and higher officials under the shadow of governors and *muqtis*. This trend of corruption among the nobility had deep impact in the society, thus the people of other classes such as traders, businessmen, merchants and artisans etc. started indulging in heinous practices of corruption.¹³²

¹²⁵ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter No. 18, pp. 41-44.; Letter No. 98, pp. 184-186; Letter No. 120, pp. 212-213.

¹²⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 472-473; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, p. 125.

¹²⁷ Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 38.

¹²⁸ Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 182; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, p. 126; Wolseley Haig (ed.), *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1965, p. 239; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, pp. 35-36.

¹²⁹ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 163; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, p. 36.

¹³⁰ Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 166; Eng. tr., pp. 375-376; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 201; Eng. tr., Vol. V, p. 101; Eng. tr., Roy, p. 86; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 184; Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, pp. 34-35; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, p. 126; Halim, *op. cit.*, p. 87. For Amir Khusrau's suggestions for the governors to avoid corruption, see *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 179. For the details of the corrupt practices of provincial governors and other officials, see Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 197; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 288-289, 292, 296, 382, 384-385, 432-433, 488-489, 501, 556-557; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 64-65; Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 130, 178-179; Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 147; Mir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 38-39; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 135; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 23-24, 195, 346, 347, 471-473, 477, 479, 484-485; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 173; Eng. tr., p. 392. Sadiduddin Muhammad Awfi, *Jawami-ul-Hikayat*, Eng. tr., I. H. Siddiqui in *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information*, p. 32; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-i-Mudabbir*, p. 33 as quoted by Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 50.

¹³¹ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, pp. 124-125; Eng. tr., pp. 259-260.

¹³² Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 92-93; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

E. Wine Drinking:

Even though drinking wine has been prohibited in Islam but it was common in the convivial parties and the festive assemblies of the nobles.¹³³ Even men of religious strata had become addicted of it. We are told of a drunkard *muezzin* who entered into the mosque of Qazi Imran in a state of intoxication.¹³⁴ Nobles attended Sultan's drinking parties.¹³⁵ Likewise, nobles also hosted the same at their houses in which other nobles were invited.¹³⁶

Malik Baqbaq, who was *sar-i-jandar* at Badaon, killed his *farrash* (personal attendant) in a fit of intoxication. When the Sultan Balban happened to pass through Badaon, the victim's widow lodged a complaint before him against the governor. The Sultan ordered an inquiry and after Malik Baqbaq's guilt having been proved he was ordered to be beaten to death in the presence of the complainant. Haibat Khan, the governor of Awadh, killed a man in a state of drunkenness. Victim's widow took the matter to the Sultan Balban for justice. Sultan ordered five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in his own presence. Then Sultan said to the widow that 'this murderer is my servant, I now give him to you, you may kill him.' Haibat Khan purchased his life from the complainant by paying her twenty thousand *tankahs*.¹³⁷

Sultan Alauddin Khalji's strict regulations to improve the morals of the society and his firm resolve to give up wine brought about a change in the habits of the people.¹³⁸ In a harsh measure, Sultan even sentenced a *Qazi*, who was proved as

¹³³ *Al-Quran*, 4:43; 5:90; 2:219. The state looked upon the evil of drinking in indifference. In one case wine was supplied free in public functions organized by the state, while on the other hand strict regulations were imposed against drinking wine. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 262-263; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹³⁴ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 175.

¹³⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 184, 186; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 331-332; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 74-75; Eng. tr., p. 73; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 71; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 160; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 214-215; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 288.

¹³⁶ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, Eng. tr., p. 78; Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 183-184; Eng. tr., p. 142; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 331-332; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 59-60; Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 137-138; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 91; Pandey, 'An Enlightened Despot', p. 312; Lal, *Khaljis*, pp. 17, 21, 22.

¹³⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 40, 45-46; Eng. tr., p. 101; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 38; Eng. tr., p. 94; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 76; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, p. 68; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 62; Muhammad Basheer Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Aligarh, 1941, p. 233. Nizamuddin also mentions that Malik Izzuddin Razi-ul-Mulk, while in a state of intoxication was murdered by the *zamindars*. Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 36, 42-43; Eng. tr., pp. 90, 103-104. For other details, see Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 81, 93-94, 130, 144.

¹³⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 284-286; Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, pp. 17-18; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 187-195, Eng. tr., pp. 252-253; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 74-75; Eng. tr., p. 73; Habib & Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, Vol. V, pp. 361, 364; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 164; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 262-263; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 36.

drunk.¹³⁹ Isami mentions that the drunkards were punished severely and deprived of their property and rights.¹⁴⁰

When Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq rigorously enforced the laws pertaining to censorship of public morals (*ih̥tisab*) issued proscribing orders and exhorted people to acquire religious knowledge, the atmosphere of the capital changed completely.¹⁴¹ The custom of imprisoning wine-drinkers continued and under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the punishment was eighty flogs.¹⁴² The Sultan confiscated all property worth million of rupees in anger to punish one drunkard noble.¹⁴³ Haibat Khan Gurgandaz was once advised by Jalal Khan, brother of Sultan Ibrahim, he left off drinking wine and broke up all his gold and silver drinking vessels.¹⁴⁴

To conclude, the nobles of Delhi Sultans made history by their deeds of valour and other virtues. Many of these nobles were frugal while some others were spent thrift and luxurious. However, by generous acts of charity and benevolence the nobles of the Sultanate period contributed largely in the upliftment of life and culture of the people. Further, their generosity towards the common people and amount spent on public welfare works clearly indicates the wealth and consumption levels of the nobles. So much so that the noble's lavish generosity sometimes evoked Sultans criticism too. Some of them were famous for their liberality, generosity and other charitable acts especially their concern for public welfare and help the needy and indigent persons while on the other hand instances highlights the darker side of their social and cultural life. Evidences show their indulgence in bribery and corruption as well as drinking wine. However, these corrupt practices infected both the high ranked nobles as well as officials of lower strata. The corrupt nobles bribed not only the common people but collected a large sum of money from the state officials too. Bribe

¹³⁹ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 187; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 252; But contemporary historian Barani mentions that Alauddin himself drank hard and was advised by Malik Alaul Mulk to stop excess drinking if he wanted to be a successful ruler. Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁴⁰ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 301; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 477.

¹⁴¹ Nizami, *Royalty*, pp. xv-xvi. It is mentioned that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was an intensely religious man who abstained from every act forbidden by the *sharia*. He also wanted people to follow his example in their life. Therefore, he did not permit the use of prohibited things among his nobles. He severely punished the defaulters whosoever they might be. See Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 16-17.

¹⁴² Ibid., Eng. tr., p. 46; *Rehla*, pp. 171-172; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁴³ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 443-444; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 763; Al-Umari, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., pp. 56-57, 64; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 411; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 620; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Qamaruddin, *Crime and Punishments*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁴⁴ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 109-110; Eng. tr., Vol. V, p. 33.

and corruption eclipsed the *Diwan-i-Arz*, *Diwan-i-Wazarat*, the royal mint and even the Judiciary. As a result the common people were oppressed for illegal gratification and the state was unabashedly cheated.

CHAPTER-VII

Literature, Science and Craft

The Sultanate nobility was not merely concerned with political affairs but were actively engaged in cultural activities providing meaningful patronage to the men of letters, thus contributed much in the field of literature, science and craft. Since the nobles were well-versed in different branches of sciences, they produce a wide range of literature in different languages: Persian, Arabic, Awadhi and Hindwi. These literatures may be classified into two categories:

- a) Literature composed by the nobles, and
- b) Literature produced under noble's patronage.

A. LITERATURE:

a) Literature composed by the nobles:

Evidences over the literary activities of some prominent nobles during the Sultanate period. The foremost was **Majd ul-Mulk Bahauddin al-Jamji** who came to India during the reign of Qutbuddin Aibek. Once Sultan Qutbuddin elevated two nobles to the ministerial posts, Bahauddin al-Jamji composed offhand a couplet expressing his displeasure at their elevation but to no effect. Awfi praises his literary genius and generous nature that once an emigrant poet Hamid Qahanduzi came to him with a couplet in his praise expecting reward, but since al-Jamji had no money thus, he also composed the couplet that if he had come earlier he would have received a good amount for each line.¹

Next to him was **Qazi Ruknuddin Samarqandi** (d. 1218 A.D.), a scholar and a poet. Considering his scholarship, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji appointed him the Qazi of Lakhnauti. In Bengal, he developed contacts with the *yogis* (Hindu ascetics) and learned Sanskrit. Then, he translated into Persian a well known Sanskrit *yoga* work *Amritkund* to acquaint the Muslims with Indian branch of knowledge and named it *Hauz-ul-Hayat*. It seems that this work was also rendered by him in Arabic under the title *Mirat-ul-Ma'ani fi Idrak-i-Alam-i-Insani*. Ruknuddin Samarqandi himself admitted that Bhoj, a local Brahman, assisted him in this project of

¹ Awfi, *Jawamiul-Hikayat* as quoted by Siddiqui, *Perso-Arabic Sources*, p. 6; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 33-34.

translation. It was introducing work on *yoga* into Islamic literature.²

Malik Tajuddin Reza, a *dabir* of Sultan Iltutmish, was held by the elite of Delhi in high esteem for his learning, culture and excellent poetry.³ Probably, he was the first Persian poet of eminence who was born in India.⁴ Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah Qawwas mentions him as Taj Dabir alias Reza and quoted his verses to explain the meanings of certain words.⁵ When the Caliph of Baghdad sent robe of honour to Sultan Iltutmish, Taj Reza recited an eloquent *qasida* commemorating the occasion which was widely appreciated.⁶

He has composed verses on the conquest of Gwalior fort by Sultan Iltutmish which had been put as inscription on the gate of the fort. He also composed *qasidas* in praise of Sultan Ruknuddin Firoz and his *wazir* Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi.⁷ He seems to have died in an old age at the time of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud which is indicated by a couplet composed by him on the appointment of Shams Dabir as the *mustaufi-i-mamalik* (auditor general of the Sultanate).⁸

Shamsuddin Dabir was a resident of Samana and was distinguished for his eloquence in poetry. In the beginning he was associated with the leading Chishti Saint Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakr. Deviating from the Chishti tradition, Shaikh Fariduddin permitted Shams Dabir, out of love to recite the *qasida* composed in his praise.⁹ He attained the rank of *Malik-ul-Kalam* (Lord of Eloquence) during the reign

² Manuscripts preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, *Hauz-ul-Hayat*-AMU. Abd.475; *Mirat-ul-Ma'ani*-AMU. Jawahir 6; Nabi Hadi, *A History of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 52-54; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 519-520; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 171-172; *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. I, 1953, pp. 46-52. This work was again translated by a sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari of Gwalior (d. 970 A.H./1562 A.D.) who named his version as *Bahar-ul-Hayat*.

³ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, p. 68; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 37; Sayyid Sabah-ud-Din Abdur Rahman, 'Glimpses of Indo-Persian Literature', *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. X, June 1957, p. 3.

⁴ Qamaruddin, *Society and Culture in Early Medieval India*, p. 72.

⁵ Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah Qawwas, *Farhang-i-Qawwas*, ed. Nazir Ahmad, Rampur, 1999, pp. 54-55; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 37.

⁶ He was born in Delhi and seems to have lived till the time of Balban but the peak period of his artistic achievement was the reign of Iltutmish and Razia. His *Diwan* doesn't exist. But some of his verses were quoted by other historians. See Qawwas, *Farhang-i-Qawwas*, p. 297; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 517; R. M. Chopra, *The Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 2012, p. 48; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 37; Iqbal Husain, *The Early Persian Poets of India*, Patna, 1937, p. 154.

⁷ Qawwas, *Farhang*, pp. 54-55, 148; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, pp. 67, 69; Eng. tr., pp. 94-95, 97; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 29; Eng. tr. Vol. I, pp. 68, 72; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 66; *EIM*, 1911-12, pp. 24-25; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 38-39. His verses are quoted by these historians.

⁸ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, pp. 68, 127-128; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 141.

⁹ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd*, pp. 68, 127-128; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 51.

of Sultan Nasiruddin. Amir Khusrau being a personal friend mentions him in his works and wrote a *qasida* in his praise.¹⁰

Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, was appointed as the *qazi*, *khatib* (preacher), *muhtasib* (censor) and *Imam* of Gwalior and was put in charge of all religious affairs.¹¹ Besides being a good author of excellent historical account *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, he was a religious orator as well as poet.¹²

Amid Loyaki, being a scion of the Loyak clan of Afghanistan, was the scholar and poet of the reign of Sultan Balban, who conferred him the title *Fakhr-ul-Mulk*. He held high office in the government which he could not perform with efficiency and suffered disgrace on the charge of misappropriation.¹³ Amid stayed for sometime in the company of Prince Muhammad, son of Balban, whose court at Multan was famous for the assembly of literary men. He was known as *qasida nigar*, the difficult form of Persian verse replete with rhetorics.¹⁴

Maulana Ziauddin Sunnami held the post of *muhtasib* (public censor) since the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji up to that of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Maulana Ziauddin Sunami was a distinguished scholar of religious sciences, particularly *tafsir* and *fiqh*, and was regarded an undisputed authority.¹⁵ He wrote *Nisab ul-Ihtisab*, a treatise (related to *hisbah* i.e. censure of public morality) in Arabic

¹⁰ *Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* as quoted by Wahid Mirza, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 94-95; Eng. tr., pp. 134-135; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 166; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 556.

¹¹ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 175, 188, 200, 296, 303; Eng. tr., pp. 620, 657-658, 667; Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 14; Abdul Haq Dehlavi, *Akhbar-ul-Akyar (Extracts from a Treatise)*, Eng. tr., Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 484; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 129; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 167; Mumtaz Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-127; Chopra, *The Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 108.

¹² He had composed a work *Nasiri-namah*, an account of the expedition and holy war by Ulugh Khan. Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 144, 191, 202-205, 211, 213-214, 286; Eng. tr., pp. 649, 670-671, 680-681, 818; Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, edition 1271 A.H., p. 53, 265; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 35; Eng. tr., p. 85; Mumtaz Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 133-134; Qamaruddin, *Society and Culture in Early Medieval India*, pp. 67-68.

¹³ Whereas Badaoni mentions him Amir Fakhruddin Amid Lumaki, a native of Sunnam, as the controller of all the states of Hindustan. Badaoni also quoted many of his *qasidas*. See *Muntakhab*, pp. 96-99; Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 98, 138-141.

¹⁴ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 106-107; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁵ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 356; Zain Badr Arabi, *Ma'adan al-Marani* (Malfuzat), Bihar Sharif, 1884, Vol. II, p. 117; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 697-678; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 8; K. A. Nizami, *Salatin-i-Dehli ke Mazhabi Rujhanat*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 277-278; Paul Jackson, *The Way of a Sufi: Sharfuddin Maneri*, Delhi, 1987, p. 57; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 144.

on nature and maintenance of public morals.¹⁶ In his work, divided into sixty four chapters, he explained the significance and objectives of *hisbah* and discussed in detail the duties of *muhtasib* which indicates that it was a guide manual for *muhtasibs*. The reference of his work has been preserved in several judicial works including *Fatawa-i-Firozshahi* of Firoz Shah Tughlaq and *Fatawa-i-Hammadiyah* compiled during the sixteenth century.¹⁷

Maulana Raziuddin Hasan al-Saghani was a native of Badaon and started his administrative career as *naib-i-mushrif* (deputy account officer) in Kol (Aligarh). *Malfuz* literature refers to Maulana Raziuddin al-Saghani as the compiler of *Mashariq-ul-Anwar*, a collection of *hadith*.¹⁸

Contemporary *malfuz* literature mentions **Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri**, *qazi* of Badaon, known for his piety and scholarship. He had compiled a book on *fiqh* entitled *Munfiq*.¹⁹

The name of a Jain scholar, **Thakkura Pheru**, mint officer of Sultan Alauddin Khalji (treasurer of Khalji Sultans), stands out as a writer on a wide range of scientific subjects and also a pioneer in popularizing science by writing in a simplified variety of Prakrit.²⁰

His known works are *Kharataragaccha-yugapradhana-catuhpadhika*, *Jyotisara*, *Dravyaparikkha*, *Vastusara*,²¹ *Rayanaparikkha*,²² *Dhatupatti* and *Ganitasarakaumudi*.²³ Out of these seven works, five are dated.²⁴

¹⁶ Manuscript is preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, MSS, AMU. Sheftah 27.35; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 640-641; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁷ Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, Lahore, 1966, pp. 103-105; Eng. tr., p. 229; M. G. Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Allahabad, 1946, p. 250; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 151, 162; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 56; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, pp. 163-164.

¹⁹ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'id*, pp. 225, 236-237. In spite of his religious inclination, he could not escape the criticism of his mystic friends. See Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 211; Eng. tr., Assembly no. 62, p. 164; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, pp. 179-180.

²⁰ This was a manuscript containing his seven works. A Jaina saint Jina Vijaya Muni subsequently published it in 1961 under the title *Thakkura-Pheru-viracita-Ratnapariksadi-sapta-grantha-samgraha* in the Rajasthan Oriental Series from Jodhpur.

²¹ Bhandarkar mentioned it as *Grihastusara* by Thakkura Pheru, son of the Parama-Jaina Chandra of Sridhamkalasa family. Composed in 1372 (Samvat?) in Kamanapura. The work is in Prakrit. See Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, *Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Rajputana and Central India in 1904-05 and 1905-06*, Bombay, 1907, p. 38. An edition of *Vastusara* with Hindi and Gujarati translation was published by Pt. Bhagwan Das Jain in the *Jain-Vividh-Granthamala*, Jaipur, 1943.

Although it is not certain that when he entered into the royal services but he mentions that during the victorious reign of Alauddin, Khalji prior to 1315 A.D. and served many Delhi Sultans down to Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. After completion of *Dravyaparikkha*, Thakkura Pheru occupied a high position in Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah's mint at Delhi and became the mint-master.²⁵

Dravyaparikkha (on assay and exchange of coins) is an important treatise written by Pheru on numismatics in 1318 A.D. It provides a continuous chronological list of the coin types minted in Delhi from its foundation under the Tomars to the early fourteenth century, distinguishing royal coinage on the basis not of the sectarian affinities of the issuer but of weight and precious metal content.²⁶ Pheru himself mentions that he wrote this work on the basis of his direct experience of various types of coins while he was employed in the Delhi mint. The first part of this work deals mainly with techniques of refining gold and silver and of determining their fineness, thus provides the necessary technical background for currency exchange.²⁷ The second part can be termed as a coin catalogue and is most valuable for the monetary history of the Delhi Sultanate. It contained the described name, provenance, weight, metal content and exchange value in terms of the Khalji currency, of some 260 types of coins issued by various kingdoms of north India in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.²⁸

Vastusara (on architecture and iconography) was completed in 1315 A.D. and divided into three chapters. This treatise has probably served as a practical handbook

²² Thakkura Pheru, *Rayanaparikkha: A Medieval Prakrit Text on Gemmology*, ed. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, Aligarh, 1984.

²³ Idem, *Ganitasarakaumudi: The Moonlight of the Essence of Mathematics*, Introduction, Translation and Mathematical Commentary by SaKHYa (Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, Takanori Kusuba, Takao Hayashi and Michio Yano), New Delhi, 2009.

²⁴ The earliest work *Catuhpadika* was written in 1291, *Rayanaparikkha*, *Jyotisara* and *Vastusara* in 1311 and *Dravyaparikkha* in 1318.

²⁵ For the details of his life and career, see Thakkura Pheru, *Ganitasarakaumudi*, pp. xi-xiv; Thakkura Pheru, *Rayanaparikkha*, pp. 1-5; V. S. Agrawala, 'Dhatupatti', *The Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV-XXV (1951-52), pp. 323-335; Pushpa Prasad, 'The Jain Community in the Delhi Sultanate', *Proc. I. H. C.*, Mysore, 1993, p. 225.

²⁶ Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*, New Jersey, 2009, p. 254; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 279; V. S. Agrawala, 'A Unique Treatise on Medieval Indian Coins', in H. K. Sherwani (ed.) *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 87-101; G. H. Khare, 'Dravyaparikkha of Thakkura Pheru-a study', *Journal of Numismatics Society of India*, Vol. 28, 1966, pp. 25-27.

²⁷ Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, 'Varnamalika system of Determining the Fineness of Gold in Ancient and Medieval India', *Aruna-Bharti: Professor A. N. Jani Felicitation Volume*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 369-389.

²⁸ Thakkura Pheru, *Rayanaparikkha*, p. 11; Idem, *Ganitsarakaumudi*, p. xv.

for architects of Jaina temples in early Sultanate period.²⁹ Pheru refrain therein to twenty five types of temples in this work and the architectural terms and designs show that the temple architecture of both Hindu and Jains was identical. Compilation of this work indicates that Hindu religious architecture was not neglected during the Sultanate period.³⁰

In *Rayanaparikkha* (on gemology) Pheru has shown his practical experience of handling gems. He saw in Alauddin's treasury a vast collection of gems.³¹ It gives a detailed description of the precious stones and of pearls with reference to their types, origin, size, colour including lusture, qualities, mode of use, evaluation, medicinal value i.e. relief from snake bite, rejuvenation by taking powered stone with other medicines, units for weighing them are also given starting with *rai* and ending with *taank*.³²

A section of *Dhatutpatti* (on metallurgy) on extraction of metals, though brief, is valuable for our understanding of medieval metal technology.³³

Zia Barani mentions **Kabiruddin**, son of Tajuddin Iraqi, as the court historian of Sultan Alauddin Khalji. He is said to have excelled in the skills of a secretary (*dabiri*) and in composition (*insha*). He elevated to the post of the *Amir-i-Dad-i-Lashkar*. He wrote *Fathanama* (Victory Records) in several volumes. Besides, he had written another historical account *Tarikh-i-Alai* but had not praised Sultan Alauddin Khalji.³⁴

Amir Khusrau in his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* mentions the literary excellence of **Qazi Safi al-Din Buhair**. He was a great scholar of his age in Islamic sciences, a genius

²⁹ V. S. Agrawala, 'A Note on Medieval Temple Architecture', *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. VXi, 1943, pp. 112-117. Agrawala goes on to say that Pheru wrote also another book entitled the *Prasadamandana* which awaits publication. Ibid., p. 116.

³⁰ Agrawala, 'A Note on Medieval Temple Architecture', pp. 112-117; Thakkura Pheru, *Vastusara*, ed. Pt. Bhagwan Das, Jaipur; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 333; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 158.

³¹ Thakkura Pheru, *Rayanaparikkha*, pp. 13-20.

³² B. M. Chintamani, 'Notices of Thirteen MSS in Prakrit with Special Reference to Their Scientific and Technological Contents', *National Commission for the Compilation of History of Sciences in India*, *Indian National Science Academy*, New Delhi, 1971, Vol. VI, No. II, p. 170.

³³ Cf. R. K. Dube, 'Copper Production Process as Described in an early Fourteenth Century Prakrit Text composed by Thakkura Pheru', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Vol. 41, 2006, pp. 297-312; Idem, 'The Extraction of Lead from its Ores by the Iron-Reduction Process: A Historical Perspective', *The Journals of the Minerals, Metals and Materials Society*, 58.10, 2006, pp. 18-23.

³⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 14, 361; Dr. Ghulam Sarwar Khan Niazi, *The Life and Works of Sultan Alauddin Khalji*, Lahore, 1990, p. 127; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 341; Idem, 'Cultural Activity', p. 60; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 152.

and a profound scientist. He had composed a *qasida* in the art of *qalb al-lisanain* which was uncomparable in this art.³⁵

The author of *Basatin-ul-Uns*, Sadr-i-'Ala, Ahmad Hasan Abdusi entitled Taj (ul-Mulk) known as Ikhtisan was a noble of Ghiyas-uddin Tughlaq who accompanied him in his Lakhnauti expedition.³⁶ He is generally mentioned to have composed *qasidas* on classical model.³⁷ His monumental *Basatin-ul-Uns* has been considered a Hindu tale written in ornate Persian style containing matters of historical value.³⁸ He joined the *Diwan-i-Insha* (post of *dabir*) at a very early age and accompanied Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in his eastward expedition in 1324 A.D. and wrote *Basatin-ul-Uns* after Tirhut expedition.³⁹ He informs us that during his return journey a Hindu tale written in simple Indian language was brought to his knowledge which was the story of romance between the Prince of Ujjain and the Princess of Kashmir. Therefore, he decided to compose it in ornate Persian giving it a medieval Muslim style which he completed in 1325-26 A.D when he was only twenty-six years old.⁴⁰ Bihamid Khani quoted the verses from *Basatin-ul-Uns* in his *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*.⁴¹ Ikhtisan was appointed to the post of *Dabir-i-Khass* during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and received the title of Taj (-ul-Mulk) from the Sultan.⁴²

The main characteristics of *Basatin-ul-Uns* are its floridity, rhetoricism, striking similes and metaphors, and subtle ingenuity. Though he was not a first ranking

³⁵ *Qalb al-Lisanain* (shifting of two languages) is an art of writing which implies that if one goes through the writing from top to bottom, it is in Persian. Conversely, if the same is pursued from bottom to top it is Arabic. It is very rare art, very difficult to employ. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 74.

³⁶ Manuscripts preserved in: British Library, London (MS. Add. 7717, Rieu, Vol. II, p. 752 b. ff.167); Tagore Library, Lucknow (MS. No. 297, 15/M.P. 70 b, f. 240). Mohammad Bin Sadr Taj Abdusi Akhtasan Dehlavi, *Basatin-ul Uns*, Edition and Annotations by Prof. Nazir Ahmad, New Delhi, 2010, pp. xvii-xviii, 12, 14, 24-25, 33-34; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 78; K. A. Nizami, *Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's History of India*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1981, p. 71; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 171; Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. 2, London, 1881, pp. 752 b – 753 a; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 153.

³⁷ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 182.

³⁸ Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 752 b; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 171; Habibullah, 'Re-evolution of Literary Sources', p. 215.

³⁹ Akhtasan, *Basatin-ul Uns*, p. 43; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 753 a; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 78-79; Nazir Ahmad, 'Three Little Known Persian Poets of the Time of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq', *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, September 1966, pp. 19-25.

⁴⁰ Askari, 'Historical Value', pp. 2-5; Siddiqui, 'Ikhtisan's History', pp. 96-97. Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 753 a; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 178.

⁴¹ Muhammad Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Hindi tr. by Rizvi, in *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, Part I, p. 358. f. 405 b.

⁴² Siddiqui, 'Ikhtisan's History', p. 91.

poet, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq rewarded him sixty thousand *Dinar-i-Muhammadi* (newly introduced gold coin) and sixty Arab and Tatar horses for one of his *Qasida-i-Bahariya* in praise of the Sultan.⁴³ *Qasidas* mentioned in *Basatin* testifies the fact that at an early age of twenty six Ikhtisan was an accomplished scholar and a bilingual poet of Arabic and Persian and had acquired sufficient proficiency in Arabic prose and poetry. Some poems and *qasidas* of both the languages are quoted in it.⁴⁴ His poems and *qasidas* were quoted by *tazkira* writers and Muhammad Bihamid Khani in his *Tarikh* which proves that Ikhtisan held the position of an established poet as well as a writer.

A work on lexicography, known as *Dastur-ul-Afazil-fi-Lughat-il-Fazail*⁴⁵ (Manual of Scholarship in Vocabulary) was written by Rafi, the Hajib-ul-Khairat (Chamberlain of Charity works) at Delhi.⁴⁶ During the transfer of capital he was forced to migrate from Delhi with hardships to Daulatabad the new capital.⁴⁷ Before reaching Daulatabad, he stopped at Bir (a place between Khandwa and Itarsi) and was received by Malik Shamsuddin Jajniri, Minister Incharge of religious endowment, *Sadr* of Ustadabad (near Gulbarga).⁴⁸ Shamsuddin Jajniri, as a *Sadr*, was impressed with the learning and sophistication of the author and took him to Ustadabad.⁴⁹

Rafi narrates the reason for the compilation of *Dastur-ul-Afazil*. In one of the meetings, the *Sadr* Shamsuddin points out the hurdles in acquiring knowledge owing to the lack of familiarity with the words and phrases, thus the verses of the poets of the classical age were difficult to understand. Thereupon, Rafi mentioned the

⁴³ The whole *qasida* of forty lines is reproduced in the introduction of the *Basatin*. See Akhtasan, *Basatin-ul Uns*, pp. 29-30; Siddiqui, 'Ikhtisan's History', p. 93; Askari, 'Historical Value', pp. 5-6; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 753 a; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ Akhtasan, *Basatin-ul Uns*, pp. 7, 10, 23.

⁴⁵ Rafi, Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlavi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil-fi-Lughat-il-Fazail*, ed. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Buniyad-i-Farhang, Iran, 1352 Shamsi Hijra. Manuscript A.M.U. Univ. 257.

⁴⁶ Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 46; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 923; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 219. Regarding the name of the author, there is some misunderstanding among the scholars. Mahdi Husain named him Rafi, the Hajib-ul-Khairat (See, Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 924), while according to A.D. Khan he was 'Rafi Shaikh' Hajib-ul-Khairat (*History of Sadarat*, p. 173). K. A. Nizami named him 'Hajib-ul-Khairat Dehlavi' (See, *Supplement*, Vol. III, p. 127). While I.H. Siddiqui, read his name, 'Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlavi alias 'Maruf' (See, his article, 'Historical Significance of the Fourteenth Century Farhang Literature', p. 82). The editor of the work, Dr. Nazir Ahmad mentioned the author as Rafi Hajib-i-Khairat (See, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 9). But author in the preface calls himself, Rafi, known as *Hajib-i-Khairat*, (See, *Dastur*, p. 46).

⁴⁷ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Appendix-A, p. 923.

⁴⁸ Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 11; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Appendix-A, pp. 923-924; Siddiqui, 'Historical Significance', pp. 82-84; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 173.

⁴⁹ Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 51-52.

Farhangnama of Fakhr-ud-Daula-wal-Din Mubarak Shah Ghaznavi, alias Kamangar. But the Sadr remarked that since it is brief it cannot be helpful to the beginners.⁵⁰ Encouraged by Shamsuddin Jajniri, Rafi started his work which could explain the difficult words of Persian for the use of migrants who came from Delhi to Daulatabad in Deccan.⁵¹ The work was compiled on the line of *Farhang-i-Qawwas*.⁵² Rafi's work was more detailed than the earlier lexicography, as he added some more important details. His work is in ornate Persian prose. He completed his work in 1344 A.D. and presented it to his patron Malik Shamsuddin.⁵³ In compilation of *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, Rafi consulted various *Diwans* of classical poets as well as the dictionaries of different languages, such as *Tazi* (Arabic), *Turki*, *Mughli*, *Pehlavi*, *Parsi*, *Afghani*, *Jahudi* (Hebrew), *Tarsai* (Christian's), *Nusrani* and the dialect, spoken in the Hejaz and Transoxiana.⁵⁴

Another important literary personality amongst the Tughlaqid nobility was Malik Ain ul-Mulk, commonly known as Ain ul-Mulk Mahru.⁵⁵ He was very competent and able *amir*. He was the statesman who figured in the list of important officers of the Tughlaqs. He served in Multan during Firoz Shah's period and was later appointed *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik* at the centre.⁵⁶ Afif refers Ain-ul-Mulk as compiler of a number of works on different sciences, among them the most popular work was *Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulki* commonly known as *Insha-i-Mahru*. It was the collection of letters which testifies his literary skill and is regarded as models of the *Insha* literature.⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the works on practical letter writing formed part of the curriculum throughout the Sultanate period because it provided a model

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁵¹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Appendix-A, p. 924; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 173.

⁵² Qawwas, *Farhang-i-Qawwas*, ed. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Rampur, 1999.

⁵³ Siddiqui, 'Historical Significance', pp. 82, 83-84; See also, Idem, 'Historical Significance of the Farhang Literature of Delhi Sultanate Period', *Indo-iranica*, Vol. XXXII, 1979, No. 3-4, pp. 14-20.

⁵⁴ For details of sources, see Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁵ His full name was 'Malik-ush-Sharq ul-Wuzara Ain-ul-Mulk Ain-ud-Daula Abdullah Mahru'. See, Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter no. 3; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 64.

⁵⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 488; Eng. tr., p. 226; Barani *Tarikh*, pp. 424, 454, 485, 528; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 124; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 115; G. D. Gulali, 'Role of North-West Frontier Governors in the Court Politics During the 13th and 14th Centuries', *Proc. I.H.C.*, Waltair, 1979, pp. 288-289; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 64.

⁵⁷ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 488, 409-410; Eng. tr., p. 226; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 138; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 334-335; Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughluq*, p. 180; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 288; N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India*, London, 1916, p. 66; R. C. Jauhari, 'Learning and Literature during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388)', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XLI, Oct. 1967, p. 245; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 32.

for official letter writing.⁵⁸ The style of writing selected by Mahru for inclusion in his *Insha* collection was direct and simple prose style that resembles in many ways the style developed in Persia under the Mongols.⁵⁹

In the preface of his *Insha*, Ain ul-Mulk narrates that he had been writing letters for some time on different occasions in his private and official capacities which cover a wide range of subjects. These letters were commended by some of his friends who wanted the copies of these letters to be preserved considering them as the models of epistolary branch of literature. Yielding to the demand of his friends, Ain ul-Mulk compiled a collection of those letters which was widely known as *Insha-i-Mahru* or *Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulki*.⁶⁰ However, this work is a veritable source of information for the administrative and cultural history of the 14th century.⁶¹

The Tughlaqid noble, **Tatar Khan** (adopted son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq), was the governor of Zafarabad.⁶² He was a poet and used to compose verses.⁶³ To cool down the temper of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, once he composed a verse and sent it to the Sultan. The Sultan praised these verses and called him back and honoured him with gifts.⁶⁴

Another prominent noble who was intelligent, able, accomplished writer as well as poet was **Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija** entitled **Ziya ul-Mulk**, the *mustanfi-i-*

⁵⁸ Nigam, 'Administrative Training', p. 91.

⁵⁹ Ishtiyak Ahmad Zilli, 'Development of Insha Literature till the end of Akbar's Reign', in Muzaffar Alam (ed.), *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 323.

⁶⁰ Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, p. 1; Zilli, 'Development of Insha Literature', p. 326.

⁶¹ Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 65; Zilli, 'Development of Insha Literature', p. 326.

⁶² Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 423, 428, 451, 454, 527; Afif says that Tatar Khan was from a trust worthy Turkish race. Wife of the ruler of Khurasan gave birth to a child, when he invaded Dipalpur and Multan territories. Sultan Tughlaq pounced upon Khurasani troops and began a general slaughter. Khurasani army was defeated and fled away. The child was left behind in the cradle during the flight. Army brought this child to the Sultan Tughlaq, who brought him up like his son and named him Tatar Malik. Cf. *Tarikh*, pp. 388-89; during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq Tatar Malik became a brave soldier and was assigned to the centre of the army. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 389; He was the *muqti* of Hissar Firozah. Cf. Ibid., p. 148; Tatar Khan was assigned the post of *muqti* of Sonargaon during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. See, Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 133; Zafarabad was also assigned to him Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 130. See, Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Part I, p. 352, f. 397 b, Part II, p. 227, f. 417 a; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 125; He also enjoyed one post of *Shiqqdar* of Multan to Ghazni. See, Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 124, 127; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 231; Later he became the governor of Lahore and bore the title of Bahram Khan. See, Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 151; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 180.

⁶³ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 388, 390, 393; Eng. tr., p. 228.

⁶⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 390; Eng. tr., p. 219. For the details of Tatar Khan and his literary contributions, see Fazeela Shahnawaz, 'A Critical Appraisal of Tatar Khan's Literary Contributions', *Aspects of Indian History*, N.R. Farooqi and S.Z.H. Jafri (eds), New Delhi, 2013, pp. 189-194.

mamalik, under Sultan Firoz Shah.⁶⁵ He possessed excellent literary taste and composed *qasidas*. He proclaimed himself superior over Shaikh Sa'adi of Shiraz.⁶⁶ Later historians Yahya Sirhindi, Badaoni and Nizamuddin Ahmad had quoted his quatrains in their works.⁶⁷

A Moorish traveller, **Ibn Battuta**, the then *Qazi* of Delhi, wrote a long ode in praise of the Sultan and presented it to the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.⁶⁸ He also wrote pungently about his observations of his visit to the Indian sub-continent.⁶⁹ *Rehla* of Ibn Battuta is a valuable document for understanding the ways of life in the fourteenth century Muslim world.⁷⁰

Malik Qabul Qara Khan compiled a legal digest for the guidance of *Qazis*. It was titled as *Fatawa-i-Qara Khani* by him. He was a jurist flourished in the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq.⁷¹

Amir Ikhtiyarud-Din was a noble at the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He is acknowledged for his talents and interest in literature. Only two *qasidas* composed by him in praise of a new palace built by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq have survived.⁷²

Qazi Abid was appointed as *Qazi* by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Besides his religious duties, he also used to compose verses. A fragment of his compositions which was the translation of an Arabic piece has survived. Badaoni quoted the verses composed by Qazi Abid.⁷³ Badaoni mentions **Qazi Zahir Dihlavi** as the brilliant poet during the later days of Tughlaq dynasty. His patron was Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughlaq. He had left a *Diwan* (anathology) full of *qasidas* in eulogy of Sultan Mahmud. Badaoni had quoted some of his *qasidas* and said that in truth after Qazi

⁶⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 454, 497; Eng. tr., pp. 247, 268-269.

⁶⁶ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp.460-61; Eng. tr., p. 250; Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughlaq*, p. 181; Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 33.

⁶⁷ Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Eng. tr., p. 136; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 247; Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 329-330; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 116; Eng. tr., p. 247; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 183.

⁶⁸ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 750.

⁶⁹ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 139.

⁷⁰ Helaine Selin (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, Netherlands, 1997, p. 417.

⁷¹ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 140; Idem, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 482.

⁷² Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 180; Nazir Ahmad, 'Three Little Known Persian Poets', pp. 43-44.

⁷³ He was the *qazi* during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 257; Eng. tr., p. 341; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p.183.

Zahir no poet arose in Hindustan whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading.⁷⁴

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi served among the courtiers of Saiyyid Mubarak Shah d. 1433 A.D. He presented a book of history as token of gratitude to the Sultan. His work *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* encompasses the period down to his time.⁷⁵

Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua was *wazir* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He was fond of the company of scholars and learned men. He collected books even from Transoxiana related to various subjects and engaged calligraphists to transcribe them. He invited the scientists from Khurasan, Iraq, Transoxiana and Central Asia. His special interest was in the field of medicine, thus he selected books on medical science and compiled the *Tibb-i-Sikandar Shahi*⁷⁶ which according to Mushtaqi was matchless in standard and value.⁷⁷

Before the compilation of *Ma'adan al-Shafa Sikandar Shahi* he first sought royal permission. He narrates that the fulfillment of this life depends on the maintenance of good health and treatment of illness through *ilm-i-tibb* (science of medicine).⁷⁸ However, in its compilation Mian Bhua consulted various Sanskrit classics such as *Ja Deskarat*, *Ras Ratnako*, *Suangdhar* and *Chintama* etc. He studied Sanskrit and acquainted himself with Indian medical system *Ayurvedic* to which he further synthesized with *tibb-i-unani*. The terms and the names of the medicines, plants and herbs were translated into Persian and, if the equivalent of any term was not found in the Persian language, it was written with its original name in the Persian script with necessary explanation. As a result of his experimental and statistical

⁷⁴ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, pp. 277-283; Eng. tr., pp. 367-375; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 182.

⁷⁵ Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 623-624.

⁷⁶ Also known as *Ma'adan al-Shafa Sikandar Shahi*, published from Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877.

⁷⁷ It is based on Sanskrit classics on ancient medicine. Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 79-80; Eng. tr. p. 83; Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. II, London, 1966, pp. 471-473; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 191-192; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 171-172; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua: A Scholarly Statesman of Medieval India', *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1967, p. 35; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 166, 171; S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 56; Yusuf Husain, *Indo-Muslim Polity*, p. 179; Syed Zil-ur-Rahman, 'Hindustan mein tibb ki Farsi tasneefat', in *Contribution of Persian language and Literature to the Composite Culture of India*, ed. Azarmi Dukhat Safavi, Aligarh, 2004, pp. 83-84; Chopra, *The Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 56-57; Syed Hasan Askari, 'Medicines and Hospitals in Muslim India', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1957, p. 170. According to Abdullah this book was the foundation of the practice of the physicians of Hind and was thus brought into general use. See *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 40; Eng. tr., p. 451.

⁷⁸ Mian Bhau, *Ma'adan al-Shafa*, pp. 2-3, 8; Siddiqui, 'Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua', pp. 38-39.

labour this voluminous work has been completed in 1502 A.D.⁷⁹

b) Literature produced under Noble's patronage:

Nobles under Delhi Sultans possessed power and wealth thus in quest of learning they imitated the Sultans and extended their patronage to the scholars, poets and intellectuals. The tradition of this literary patronage started from the Mamluk nobles and continued till the reign of Lodi Sultans.

During the thirteenth century, Persian became the language of culture with the growth of corpus of translations of the Arabic classics into Persian under the patronage of Delhi Sultans and their nobles. Among the emigrant scholars of the Shamsi court, the most important was **Muaiyid-i-Jajarmi Abul Ma'ali**, who was directed by Junaidi, *wazir* of Sultan, to use simple language in his translation of Al-Ghazali's work on religious sciences *Ihya-ul-Ulum* in 648 A.H./1250 A.D.). Only fragments of this translation are now available.⁸⁰ In the introduction, Jajarmi records that to fulfill the need of the emerging Persian-knowing intelligentsia in India *wazir* of Sultan Iltutmish, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, instructed him to render *Ihya-ul-Ulum* into Persian. Thus, he started the diffusion of Islamic learning in the Sultanate of Delhi. He praises his patron Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi for his benevolence and munificence to scholars.⁸¹

As for the style employed by Jajarmi in the text, it is largely free from the metaphors, affection and poetical artifices but the introduction to the work is marked by floridity.⁸²

Persian translation by Jajarmi soon gained popularity and became a standard work and both Amir Khusrau and Barani paid tribute to Jajarmi for his scholarly translation.⁸³

⁷⁹ Siddiqui, 'Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua', p. 40; Askari, 'Medicines and Hospitals in Muslim India', p. 173.

⁸⁰ Majduddin Muaiyid Jajarmi, Persian translation of Al-Ghazali's *Ihya-ul-Ulum*, British Museum, MS. Fols. 2b-3a as quoted by Muzaffar Alam (ed.), *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture*, pp. 322-323. Amir Khusrau praises this translation for the simplicity of its style. Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 56; Eng. tr. Vol. III, p. 31; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 360; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 83; Chopra, *Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 57.

⁸¹ *Tarjuma Ihyā-ul-Ulūm-id-Dīn* as quoted by Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 169; Idem, *Perso-Arabic Sources*, pp. 48-49.

⁸² Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 170.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi is said to have patronized a large number of scholars and poets. He was the patron of Sadid-ud-din Mohammad al-Awfi. Awfi composed *Lubab-ul-Albab*, a *tazkira* of Persian poets and dedicated it to Ain-ul-Mulk Ashari, *wazir* of Qubacha. Other work compiled by him was an encyclopedia of knowledge divided into many chapters, *Jawami-ul-Hikayat wa Lawami ur-riwayat*.⁸⁴ The work is dedicated to Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, *wazir* of Sultan Iltutmish.⁸⁵

Among other eminent poets, **Amir Ruhani** had composed charming *qasidas* in praise of his patron Malik Nizam ul-Mulk Junaidi's love for learning. Badaoni quoted a few lines of the *qasida* composed by him.⁸⁶ **Tajuddin Bukhari** had also composed a *qasida* in praise of his patron Malik Nizamuddin Junaidi which has survived in earlier *tazkira* (anthologies).⁸⁷ **Azzuddin Alawi** was a poet of Sultan Balban's reign and enjoyed the patronage of Malik Junaidi (grandson of Nizamuddin Junaidi). Earlier *tazkira* writers have preserved a number of his verses in their works.⁸⁸

The first patron of **Amir Khusrau** was Balban's nephew Alauddin Kishli Khan better known as Malik Chajju. Young and genius Khusrau was treated by Malik Chajju with great affection and generosity.⁸⁹ Later he was patronized by Bughra Khan, governor of Bengal under Sultan Balban.⁹⁰ Then he shifted his loyalty to

⁸³ Of the six writers, mentioned by Khusrau only two are those who had adopted India as their country. They were Shaikh Ali Hujwiri, the author of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* and Majd-ul-Mulk Jajarmi, the translator of *Ihya-ul-Ulum-id-Din*. His Persian prose, with its flow and gentle expression was emulated by new writers, particularly by the doctors of law. See Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57. Barani also includes this translation by Jajarmi in the list of the classics of Arabic and Persian that were discussed in the Jam'at Khana of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and says that it was a good seller like the *Awarif-ul-arif*, the *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, the *Risala-i-Qushairi* of Abul Qasim Abdul Karim Qushairi, the *Lawaih* and the *Lawaih* of Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri and *Fawa'id-ul-Fua'd* of Amir Hasan Sijzi. See Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 346; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 83.

⁸⁴ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 158; Eng. tr., pp. 220-221; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 99-100.

⁸⁵ Muhammad Awfi, *Jawami'ul-Hikayat*, Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, New Delhi, 2001, p. 155; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222; Chopra, *Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 108.

⁸⁶ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 66; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 39-41.

⁸⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 145; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 105; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 41-42. He is sometimes mentioned as Tajuddin Balkhi.

⁸⁸ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 107; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 46-47; Nazir Ahmad, 'Some Little Known Indo-Persian Poets of 13th Century', *Studies in Indian Culture, Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, ed. H. K. Sherwani, Hyderabad, 1966, p. 165.

⁸⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 113; *Dibacha-i-Gurraat-ul-Kamal* pp. 70-71 as quoted by K. A. Nizami (ed.), *Duwal Rani Khazir Khan*, Aligarh, 1988, Introduction, p. 9.

⁹⁰ *Dibacha-i-Gurraat-ul-Kamal* p. 70 as quoted by K. A. Nizami (ed.), *Duwal Rani Khazir Khan*, Introduction, p. 9.

Prince Muhammad, eldest son of Sultan Balban, and went Multan along with him.⁹¹ Malik Amir Ali Sar-i-Jandar, *muqti* of Amroha and Awadh during the time of Balban, known as Hatim Khan on account of his generosity, took Khusrau in his services after the death of Prince Muhammad. Amir Khusrau composed a poem *Asp-namah* in his praise.⁹² Later Khusrau joined services at the royal court.

Shams Moin, a distinguished poet as well as a prose writer, enjoyed the patronage of the *naib-i-mumalikat* (regent) Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri (assassinated in 1254 A.D.) and served him as his *nadeem-i-khaas* (boon associate). According to Barani, Shams Moin was one of the celebrities of the age and compiled volumes on the life and achievements of his patron Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri.⁹³ When Malik Alauddin, popularly known Malik Chajju (son of Sultan's younger brother Kishli Khan), was elevated to his father's post of *barbak* and given the *iqta* of Baran, Shams Moin got a fabulous reward from him for composing a *qasida* in praise of Malik. Shams Moin is reported to have approached the court singers and made them commit his *qasida* recite at the *nauroz* celebration. Malik Chajju gave the singers ten thousand *tankaḥs* while Shams Moin got a full stable of horses in reward. Barani also quotes the couplets of the *qasida* in his *Tarikh*.⁹⁴

Siraji Khurasani reached Delhi from Makran during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish and attained reputation as a poet. His *Diwan* in praise of the princes and nobles of the Delhi court shows that he enjoyed their patronage. He had composed a *qasida* in praise of his patron Malik Nizamul-Mulk Junaidi yielded important information about their achievements and noble qualities.⁹⁵

Kamal Karim Nagauri was the compiler of a Persian work on *Fiqh* known as *Majmu-i-Khani*. The work is dedicated to 'Ulugh Qutlgh-i-Azam Muazzam Bahram Khan' (1388 A.D.) who was the tutor of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the

⁹¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 66-69.

⁹² Ibid., p. 118; Amir Khusrau, *Duval Rani Khazir Khan*, p. 8; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 156; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 156; Rekha Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁹³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 113; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 52-53.

⁹⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 113; Amir Khusrau, *Wast-ul-Hayat*, ed. Fazal Ahmad, Bombay, 1308 A.H., pp. 68-69; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 155; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, pp. 53-57; Wahid Mirza said that each of the musicians got 10,000 *tankaḥs*. But according to Barani the Malik gave the singers 10,000 *tankaḥs*. Cf. Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 113-114; Wahid Mirza, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁹⁵ Siraji Khurasani, *Diwan-i-Saiyid Siraju'd-Din Khurasani* (known as Siraja), Nazir Ahmad (ed.), Aligarh, 1972; I. H. Siddiqui, 'Life and Poetry of Siraji Khurasani (A 13th century's Indo-Persian Poet)', *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. XXVI, Dec. 1973, No. 4, pp. 1-16; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 104.

governor of Daulatabad.⁹⁶ The date of compilation has not been mentioned but the reference section seems to suggest that it was compiled during Tughlaq period. Regarding the compilation of this work on *fiqh*, Kamal Karim Nagauri says that although there were collection of works in Arabic but the common people found it difficult to use the Arabic books. So, the work *Majmu-i-Khani* written in Persian.⁹⁷ He listed near about one hundred thirty one works on *fiqh* and *fatawa* to which he consulted in the compilation of *Majmu-i-Khani*.⁹⁸

Malik Tatar Khan, the leading noble under the Tughlaq Sultan, was known for his patronage extended in compilation of two famous works: *Tafsir-i-Tatar Khani* and *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani* in about 1375 A.D.⁹⁹

Regarding *Tafsir-i-TatarKhani*, Afif says that Tatar Khan used to extend his patronage to the learned men. He organized a syndicate of writers (*ulama*) to prepare a *tafsir* (commentary) on *Quran*. For this purpose he had collected all the available commentaries on *Quran* and consulted all the *Ulama* of the Sultanate. So for every Quranic verse, several commentaries were collected and put together. In this compilation, he included different interpretations of various *Ulama* on delicate points. Thus, this work consisted of differences in the interpretations of the *Quran* within the orthodox (*sunni*) creed.¹⁰⁰ However, it was written by a board of *Ulama* on the instruction of Malik Tatar Khan¹⁰¹ which negates the view of the author of *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir* who writes that *Tafsir-i-Tatarkhani* was written by Tatar Khan himself.¹⁰²

In view of K. A. Nizami, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhanian* was the greatest achievement

⁹⁶ Kamal Karim, *Majmu-i-Khani*, (MSS M.A. Library, A.M.U., 244.395 Sheftah), ff. 2-3; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 122; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 292-293. For Qutlugh Khan, See Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 481; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 106; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 231.

⁹⁷ *Majmu-i-Khani*, MSS., M.A. Library, f. 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 3-4; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁹⁹ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 140; Idem, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 594-595. These works were unknown to the scholars, until the introductory reference was given by Riyasat Ali Nadvi in his significant article, 'Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan aur Uski Yadgar ilmi Khidmat', in *Ma'arif*, Azamgarh, 1932, p. 96. According to him *Tafsir-i-Tatarkhani* and *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani* were compiled with the same point of view. The *Tafsir-i-Tatarkhani* is a collection of all the previous Arabic works on *tafsir*.

¹⁰⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392; Eng. tr., pp. 220; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 32; Habib & Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, p. 613; Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 170; R.C. Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq* (1351-1388 A.D.), Agra, 1968, p. 159.

¹⁰¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392; Nadvi, 'Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan', p. 96; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, pp. 174-175.

¹⁰² Cf. Syed Abdul Hai bin Fakhruddin Hasni, *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, Vol. II, Hyderabad, 1350 A.H., p. 19; Manazir Ahsan Gilani, *Hindustani Musalmanon ka Nizam-i-Taleem-wa Tarbiyat*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1944, p. 143.

of the Sultanate period on *fiqh* which surpassed all other works on Jurisprudence.¹⁰³ The manuscripts of the work preserved in different libraries.¹⁰⁴ Qazi Sajjad Husain edited the work which was published from Dairat-ul-Ma'arif al-Usmaniah, Hyderabad in 1984. This collection of *fatawa* consisted of thirty volumes which was a great achievement of the time.¹⁰⁵

Regarding the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*, there are differences of opinion among the scholars. Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi said that the work is dedicated to Tatar Khan by Maulana Alim Andapathi who was the noble of Sultan Alauddin Khalji.¹⁰⁶ In view of others it is as a study of comparative jurisprudence in thirty volumes with a digest of all the *fatawa* that had been issued under the previous Sultans of Delhi.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the eighteenth century scholar says that it was originally called *Zad-ul-Musafir* and later ascribed to Tatar Khan and then called *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*.¹⁰⁸ But, infact, the *Fatawa-i-TatarKhania* has been compiled by Maulana Alim bin Ala' al-Andapati (or Dehlavi, Andapati is called because Inderprast was the old name of Delhi), at the instance of Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan.¹⁰⁹ It is quite impossible to believe that a single person could compile such a voluminous work consisting of thirty volumes. Thus, Afif's view is reasonably acceptable that a board of *Ulama* was called to compile the work and Maulana Alim would be the head of that board.¹¹⁰

It is worth noting that the Tughlaqid noble like Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan was much interested in the compilation of a work on *fiqh*, for which he had collected

¹⁰³ Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁴ Filhrst-i-Kutub-i-Arabi, Farsi, wa Urdu, Kutub Khana Asifiyah, Hyderabad, II/1052-1054, no. 58-66; Khuda Baksh O.P. Library, Patna, 33/14-15, no. 33; Raza Library, Rampur, 111/240, no. 2454; Maulana Azad, Library, Aligarh, Abdul Hai collection, Fiqh, Arabi, no.413/121. British Museum, London (Rieu, 1139); Bankipur (19/14-16, No. 1715-1719).

¹⁰⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392. K. A. Nizami quoting from *Gulzar-i-Abrar* mentions that this *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani* was prepared at the instance of Sultan Firoz Shah as the Sultan was interested in *fiqh*. When Alim bin Ali compiled this famous work, Sultan wanted it to be dedicated to him but the compiler, in view of his indebtedness to Tatar Khan, declined to accede to the Sultan's wish. See *Royalty*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁶ Abdul Haq Dehlavi, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. VI, Allahabad, 1964, pp. 486-487.

¹⁰⁷ Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.

¹⁰⁸ Haji Khalifah Chelpi, *Kashf-ul-Zunun*, Vol. I, Karanchi, 1360 A. H./1941 A. D., p. 268.

¹⁰⁹ Sajjad Husain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania*, Preface by the editor, p. 28; Haji Khalifah, *Kashf*, Vol. I, p. 268, vol. 2, p. 947; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Abdul Haq Dehlavi, *Treatise*, pp. 486-487; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 117; Fakhruddin Hasni, *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, Vol. 2, pp. 67-68; Nadvi, 'Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani', pp. 171-172; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 140.

¹¹⁰ Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Similarly *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* was compiled by the board of scholars headed by Shaikh Nizam during the reign of Aurangzeb.

various books on *fatawa* available at Delhi. Different views and interpretations of the Muftis were freely incorporated within this work and the differences of opinions expressed by various *muftis* were referred along with their names.¹¹¹ The statement of the compiler that he had arranged its chapters on the pattern of *al-Hidaya* shows that it was the main work took up by the compiler.¹¹² It further sheds light on the availability of the religious treatises in India during the Tughlaq period.¹¹³ Thus, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani* is significant because of its contents, which covers such contemporary social and religious issues as the prayers, fosterage, divorce, maintenance, manumission of slaves, oaths, international relations, fixed punishments, apostates, absconding slaves, missing persons, partnership and endowment.¹¹⁴

Azizud-Din bin Abdullah, popularly known as **Mutahhar** of Kara, was a known poet during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah. He arrived from Iran and was posted as *qazi* of Kara (near Allahabad) by the Sultan. Most of the *qasidas* composed by him were in praise of Sultan Firoz Shah and his successor Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah.¹¹⁵

Ain-ul-Mulk has extended his patronage to the poet Mutahhar of Kara¹¹⁶ but Mutahhar himself has not mentioned the name of his patron in his *Diwan*.¹¹⁷ However, a large number of *qasidas* in praise of Ain-ul-Mulk indirectly suggests that the poet was patronized by this noble.¹¹⁸ Besides him, Mutahhar also wrote a number of *qasidas* in praise of Malik Husamuddin and Karimuddin, sons of Ain-ul-Mulk.¹¹⁹ Once he received a village and a horse in *inam* from Ain-ul-Mulk which is a further testimony of his patron.¹²⁰

According to Badaoni he had composed about fifteen or sixteen thousand

¹¹¹ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹¹² Sajjad Hussain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani*, Vol. I, p. 68.

¹¹³ Gilani, *Hindustani Musalman*, Vol. I, p. 38.

¹¹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392; Sajjad Hussain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*, Vol. I.; Zafar-ul-Islam, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹¹⁵ Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 182; Idem, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 443.

¹¹⁶ Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, Part. II, Introduction, p. 14; Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 288.

¹¹⁷ Mutahhar, *Diwan*, ed. Abdur Razzaq, Patna, 1998.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 15-18, 22-27, 45-48, 56-57, 61-65, 129-134, 182-187, 214-215; 224, 231, 285, 282-303, 338.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 14; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 78; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', p. 32.

¹²⁰ Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, part II, p. 14.

verses but he regarded Mutahhar more a 'mulla' than a 'poet'¹²¹ because he did not find something good in his work. While Bihamid Khani called him the *Khatm-ush-Shura* (the last of the great poets) and a favourite of the Sultan as every year he recited beautiful *qasidas* in praise of Sultan at his court and received awards and favours.¹²²

Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, the *wazir* of Firoz Shah Tughlaq was a great patron of learning. **Maulana Daud** of Dalmau compiled his famous Hindi *masnavi Chandayan*¹²³ under his patronage.¹²⁴ Badaoni praises *Chandayan* in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*.¹²⁵ He completed this work in 1373 A.D. during the reign of Firoz Shah at Dalmau when Malik Mubarak son of Malik Bayo was the chief of the town.¹²⁶ He dedicated his work to Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah¹²⁷ as is evident in *Chandayan* when he used the term *khond* resembling the Persian term *khawind* for Khan-i-Jahan. It shows that Khan-i-Jahan was the patron of Maulana Daud.¹²⁸

Masnavi of Maulana Daud continued to attract the attention till the reign of Akbar.¹²⁹ Badaoni writes that there is no need for him to praise it because of its great fame in the country. Makhdum Shaikh Taqi-ud-Din Waiz Rabbani used to read occasionally some verses of it from the pulpit or member. When certain learned men of the time asked the Shaikh the reason of choosing the Hindi *masnavi*, he replied that the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers and comfortable to the interpretation of some of the *ayats* (verses) of the *Quran*.¹³⁰ However, *Chandayan* is a long poem in early Awadhi

¹²¹ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 257; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 341; Riaz ul-Islam, 'Age of Firuz Shah', pp.32-33; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 181, Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246.

¹²² Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Eng. tr., p. 23.

¹²³ Several MSS at Bhopal, Maner, Kala Bhavan, Bikaner and Shimla are found. These are edited by Dr. Vishwanath Prasad, K.M. Institute, Agra, 1962; Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta, Agra, 1967; Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Bombay, 1964.

¹²⁴ M. Ishaque, 'Persian Literature', in *History and Culture of India (The Delhi Sultanate)*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1960, p. 538; Dr. B. K. Sahay, 'A Note on the Study of Persian by the Hindus during Medieval Period', *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1968, p. 61.

¹²⁵ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 250.

¹²⁶ Mulla Daud, *Chandayan*, ed. Mata Prasad Gupta, Stuti-Khanda, no. 17, pp. 15-16.

¹²⁷ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 250; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 237, note no. 2; Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246; Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 159.

¹²⁸ Mata Prasad Gupta (ed.), *Chandayan*, Stuti-Khanda no. 10, p. 9.

¹²⁹ Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246.

¹³⁰ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 250; Eng. tr., p. 333; Badaoni quoted by Jauhri, *Firuz Shah*, p. 159; Jauhri, 'Learning and Literature', p. 246; Ishaque, 'Persian Literature', p. 538. For details see Fazeela Shahnawaz, 'Historical Importance of Indo-Sufi Masnavi Chandayan of Maulana Daud' in *The Legacy: New Trends*, Omprakash Srivastav (ed.), Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany, 2013, pp. 177-185.

script and the manuscript fragments dating from mid 16th century have been found to transcribe Awadhi in Perso-Arabic script.¹³¹

In patronizing the literary personages, the name of Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija is much significant. Under his patronage a Persian work on music, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya* (Pleasure of Desire), was completed.¹³² It is an earliest testimony of the Indo-Persian aristocratic patronage to Indian music during the medieval period. In the preface, the anonymous author records the name of Sultan Firoz Shah and his noble Malik Shamsuddin Ibrahim Hasan Abu Rija, the then governor of Gujarat, at whose instance he composed the work *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*.¹³³ The author praised his patron Abu Rija for his literary taste and support to the scholars¹³⁴

Explaining the reason of compilation of this work on music, the author records that his patron Abu Rija, to ease the pressure of administrative work, found relief in listening Persian *sama* and Hindi *sarod*. His companions sometimes enquired from him the meanings of the complex verses which he used to explain in detail with great elegance.¹³⁵ Thus, Abu Rija asked the author to compile a work on the intricacies of music and for that purpose, brought together the group of singers and musicians, a large number of experts of the Hindi language, players of different musical instruments and exponents of various forms of music. The author further consulted numerous Indian books on music such as: *Bharata*, *Sangit-Ratnakara*, *Sangit-Ratnavali*, *Sangit-Binod*, *Sangit-Mudra*, *Satanak* and *Raga Avarna*.¹³⁶ In this work, the author confines himself to an exposition of Indian Music, for he had discussed the Arabo-Persian musical system in a book already written by him on the basis of an Arabic work named *Farid-ul-Zaman-fil-Ma'arefat-i-Ilham* (Unique of the age regarding knowledge of melodic modes).¹³⁷ The *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya* deals with *ilm*

¹³¹ Sujit Mukherjee, *A Dictionary of Indian Literature*, (One) (Beginnings – 1850), Orient Longman, p. 68. The story was popular enough to be translated into Magadhi, Maithili and Bangla languages.

¹³² Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya (the earliest known Persian work on Indian Music)*, ed. Shahab Sarmadee, Bombay, 1978; Mrs. Khursheed Nurul Hasan introduced this work by her significant article 'Ghuniyat-ul-Munya (the earliest Persian Manuscript on Indian Music)', *Proc. I.H.C.*, Delhi, 1961, pp. 177-179.

¹³³ Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*, p. 3; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 130; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 207.

¹³⁴ Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*, p. 4; Khursheed N. Hasan, 'Ghuniyat-ul-Munya', pp. 178-179.

¹³⁵ Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*, pp. 3-4; Khursheed N. Hasan, 'Ghuniyat-ul-Munya', p. 178; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 130.

¹³⁶ Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*, pp. 13-14; Khursheed N. Hasan, 'Ghuniyat-ul-Munya', p. 178; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 109.

¹³⁷ Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 109.

(theory), *amal* (practice) and *adab* (etiquette) of Indian art, music and dance.

Thus, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya* is not only a known earliest Persian work on music that gives information about musical theory but also a significant work of cultural history. It reveals the prevalence of the popular Sanskrit works on music, musical instruments and musical forms in the ruling circle of the 14th century. Thus, the work is the evidence of musical assemblies at the royal court where music and dance were essential.¹³⁸ In spite of the religious prohibition, the Sultans, the nobles and saints cultivated a good taste for music.

Mian Bhua, intellectual *wazir* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, seems to have patronized the scholars to take important Sanskrit works and translate them into Persian. Similarly Umar bin Yahya al-Kabuli who was under the service of Mian Bhua was encouraged by him to compile a voluminous work on classical Indian Music which is known as *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*¹³⁹ entirely based on Sanskrit sources.¹⁴⁰

Umar bin Yahya was an Afghan had mastered himself in Sanskrit language and utilized old Sanskrit works in compilation of *Lahjat*. The preface of the work shed light on the literary taste and passion of Mian Bhua for the knowledge of different sciences and arts. Umar Yahya consulted so many Indian works such as *Sangit Ratnakar*, *Sangit Sangarah*, *Ud Bharat*, *Sudha Nidhi*, *Sangit Samassaya*, *Sangit Kalpataro* and *Sangit Matanga*. After years of systematic researches, he brought out *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* on musicology containing seven chapters in about 1514 A.D.¹⁴¹

It is worth-mentioning that both these works deal with the two prohibited pleasures i.e. music and dance, and displayed the author's command over the subjects. The authors of musicological treatises not only translated the Sanskrit works

¹³⁸ Anonymous, *Ghuniyat-ul-Munya*, Introduction, p. 7; Khursheed N. Hasan, 'Ghuniyat-ul-Munya', pp. 178-179.

¹³⁹ A manuscript is preserved in Lucknow University Library and the other is preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh (MSS. AMU. Univ. 288). Umar bin Yahya al-Kabuli, *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, ed. Shahab Sarmadee, New Delhi, 1999.

¹⁴⁰ Yahya al-Kabuli, *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, pp. 13-14; Nabi Hadi, *History of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 194; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 108; P. N. Ojha, 'Some Light on Promotion of Scholarship and Learning under the Tughlaq Sultans', *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. X, Jan. No. 2, 1968, p. 66-67.

¹⁴¹ Yahya al-Kabuli, *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, pp. 14-15; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 624; Nazir Ahmad, 'The *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, A unique and Exhaustive Book on Indian Music of The Time of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1953, pp. 219-225; Siddiqui, 'Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhua', pp. 36-37; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 109-110.

into Persian rather frequently added pertinent comments on certain musical feature.¹⁴²

A dictionary, *Majma-ul-Ajam*, has been compiled by **Shihab Abdusi Asim** under the patronage of Dawud Khan, an Afghan noble of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. The work was completed in 1493 A.D. and dedicated to the patron Dawud Khan.¹⁴³

B. SCIENCE AND CRAFT:

The learned men of Central Asia and far flung regions came to Delhi and showed their utmost interest in religious and secular sciences especially in the science of astronomy and astrology. In view of Afif astronomy was one of the fourteen known sciences of the time.¹⁴⁴ Although the pursuit of astronomy was condemned by the orthodox Ulemas but Amir Khusrau considered nothing short of blasphemy in the practice of astronomy. Being a rationalist theologian, Minhaj was also free from such influences and considered the study of astronomy a cultural pursuit.¹⁴⁵

The astronomers and astrologers from both the communities i.e. Hindu and Muslim were patronized by the nobles under Delhi Sultans following the Indian tradition. Amir Khusrau took interest in astronomy and astrology. His interest in the subject seems to have encouraged him to gain familiarity with the achievements made by Hindus in scientific fields.¹⁴⁶ Thakkura Pheru, mint master of Sultan Alaaddin Khalji, wrote *Jyotisara*, a manual on astronomy and astronomy in 1315 A.D.¹⁴⁷

Very little information is available regarding the interest of Saiyyid Sultans and their nobles in the science of astronomy and astrology. Although no work on astronomy during the Lodi period has yet come to light but evidences support the patronage extended to astronomers and astrologers by the Lodi Sultans and their nobles.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, 'Indo-Persian Accounts on Music Patronage in the Sultanate of Gujarat' in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture*, Muzaffar Alam (ed.), p. 257.

¹⁴³ The manuscript of the work is preserved in British Museum London. Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, p. 95.

¹⁴⁴ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 258; Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 331-332; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, pp. 331-332; Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, Eng. tr., p. 188; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 258; Siddiqui (ed.), *Medieval India*, p. 86; Idem, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 125.

¹⁴⁶ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, pp. 123, 144, 221.

¹⁴⁷ His works were first discovered by Sri Agarchand Nahata and Sri Bhanwar Lal Nahata in 1946 in Sri Manijivan Jain Library of Calcutta. Jina Vijaya Muni, *Thakkara-Pheru-viracita-Ratnapariksa-sapta-grantha-samgraha* in the Rajasthan Oriental Series, Jodhpur, 1961.

¹⁴⁸ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 19, 24; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, Vol. I, p. 327.

Information evinced noble's interest in creative astronomy. Siraji Khurasani mentions the astrolabe in one of his *qasida* composed in praise of Ziyauddin Muhammad, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi.¹⁴⁹ Mutahhar extolled in a *qasida* the patronage extended by Malik Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru to the men of talent, subtleties of poetry and music and the calendar and astrolabe.¹⁵⁰

One of the senior Lodi noble, Daulat Khan Lodi, *muqta* of Lahore, was deeply interested in the subject and promoted study and research in it by reserving a place for experiments in his own palace. He had got placed a *kursi* (astrolabe) with a wooden rod for calculating the correct time. He posted skilled men to maintain records of the shadow of the rod on the *kursi* and engraved it on the astrolabe. On the basis of shadow and changing position they came to know the passage of time. However, the most expert astronomers of the time were engaged to carry out the process.¹⁵¹ Another noble Mian Sulaiman Farmuli also had a rod fixed on *kursi* (astrolabe) at his palace for calculating the time.¹⁵²

The Sultanate nobles were known for their inventions. Mian Taha Farmuli and Mian Maruf Farmuli were experts in alchemy, made gold and silver, though Khwaja Shaikh Said Farmuli had taken an oath from Mian Taha that he would not practice alchemy. Mian Taha was well-adept in arts of calligraphy and inscribing and cutting paper and cloth.¹⁵³ He had technical mastery in ivory works and had made a sheet of paper from the ivory which neither break nor developed crease marks even when folded and unfolded many times. He had also invented a flag from ivory with same characteristics. This flag was whiter than the flag of cloth. He had also invented another flag from *laac* (gun-material/extracted from wood of a tree) which was also not broken or stuck. He also invented a cap of ivory for Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He uniquely invented an ornament for the wife of Ahmad Khan, son of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. He carved out a *khobni* (ear-ring) of ivory resembling the bud of water-lily and inserted a black bee made of ebony inside the bud. Whenever she worn this ear-ring, it remained in the form of a bud but as soon she moved her head, it opened into

¹⁴⁹ Siraji Khurasani, *Diwan*, p. 304; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 128; Idem, 'Science and Scientific Instruments', p. 142.

¹⁵⁰ Mutahhar, *Diwan*, p. 24; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 128.

¹⁵¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 65; Eng. tr., p. 85; Siddiqui, 'Science and Scientific Instruments', p. 145.

¹⁵² Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 81; Eng. tr., pp. 85-86; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 132; Idem, 'Science and Scientific Instruments', p. 145.

¹⁵³ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 181, 183; Eng. tr., pp. 198, 200.

flower and the bee came out and began to fly near her eyes. When she stopped moving her head, the bee went back and the flower got closed up.¹⁵⁴ Contemporary sources records that Mian Taha made an artificial pearl that has the same lustre as the original one. Sultan Sikandar Lodi estimated its value at thirty lakh *tankahs*, although it was made of mica and was much cheaper.¹⁵⁵

C. LIBRARIES:

As for personal libraries, Minhaj incidentally refers to the collection of books by Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlugh, the *muqti* of Baran who showed him two chests of books at Gwalior.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, Amir Khusrau witnessed a library (*kitab-khana*) of a noble equipped and decorated with calligraphic inscriptions.¹⁵⁷ Amir Khusrau had himself possessed a rich library as the references to innumerable books bearing on different subjects in his epistles contained in his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore the works composed and compiled during this period itself shed light on the huge collection of books by the nobles Rafi Maruf, *Hajib-i-Khairat* who compiled *Dastur-ul-Afazil* under the patronage of Shamsuddin Muhammad, the provincial *Sadr* of *khitta-i-Ustadabad* (Gogi in Telingana) mentioned various Persian classics utilized by him. In this compilation, Rafi Maruf found all needed works in the library, such as the *diwans* of poets, dictionaries of different languages: Tazi (Arabic), *Turki*, *Mughli* (Mongol language), *Pehlavi* (ancient Persian), Afghani, Hebrew and the Hijazi (Arabic) and Transoxiana, which show the richness of the personal collection.¹⁵⁹ Similarly Tatar Khan had a large collection of books at the time of the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania* and *Tafsir-i-Tatarkhania*.¹⁶⁰ A library was even possessed by a sub-ordinate official of Mian Zainuddin, *muqti* of Badaon, during the period of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.¹⁶¹ Likewise, the library of Ghazi Khan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi

¹⁵⁴ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 177; Eng. tr., p. 194; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 56; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr., Roy, p. 122 (anecdotes from *Waqiat*); Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁵⁵ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, pp. 180-181; Eng. tr., pp. 197-198; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 55-56; Nimatallah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Eng. tr., Roy, pp. 121-122 (anecdotes from *Tarikh-i-Daudi*).

¹⁵⁶ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 256; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 172; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 157.

¹⁵⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. V, pp. 87-89; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 172.

¹⁵⁸ Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 157; Idem, 'Amir Khusrau: A Political and Social Thinker', *Indo-Iranica*, Kolkata, March and July 2007, Vol. 60, nos. 1-2, pp. 1-2. Barani tells us that the books written by Amir Khusrau were in such a large number that they formed by themselves a separate library. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 359; Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁵⁹ Rafi Hajib, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, pp. 56-57; Siddiqui, *Perso-Arabic Sources*, pp. 78-86; Idem, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 158.

¹⁶⁰ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392.

¹⁶¹ Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 74; Eng. tr., p. 76; Siddiqui (ed), *Medieval India*, p. 111.

in town of Milvat (situated in Salt Range, Jhelum district, Pakistan) has been recorded by Babur who saw a large collection of books on different subjects in this library. Babur noticed few unique compilations and many books of on different sciences.¹⁶²

To conclude, nobles under the Delhi Sultans not only showed their interest in religious sciences but also in secular sciences. Besides, they were known for their innovations in the field of art and crafts, science and technology as well. Further from the perusal of these literary contributions of the Sultanate nobility it is clear that not only the study of Persian and Arabic but also of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Awadhi and Hindavi was encouraged. On account of the literary activities of the nobles of Delhi Sultans and their patronage to poets and scholars, significant works on different subjects were produced. The subjects chosen by these nobles and their patronized scholars were Indian tales, *masnavis*, *qasidas* (Panegyric), history, *farhang* literature (Lexicographical work), *insha* (letter writing), *fiqh* (Religious literature) *tafsir* (Commentary on Quran), *fatawa* (Muslim Jurisprudence), *tibb* (medicine), astronomy and astrology, mathematics, gemology, mining and metallurgy, numismatics and music which itself a strong testimony of their varied contributions. Thus, the nobles of the Sultanate period not only patronized the art, literature and music but were also the innovators in the field of science, technology and crafts.

¹⁶² Zaheeruddin Muhammad Babur, *Baburnama*, Eng. tr., Mrs. A. Beveridge, Reprint New Delhi, 1975, Vol. II, p. 460; Jaffar, *op. cit.*, p. 115; William T. Erskine, *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, London, 1921; Reprint Gurgaon, 1993, pp. 171-172; Siddiqui (ed), *Medieval India*, p. 110; Idem, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 159-160.

CHAPTER-VIII

Constructional Activities

Literary as well as epigraphic evidences indicate the participation of the nobles in constructional works. They constructed both private as well as public edifices of religious and secular nature. A well organized building department existed during Sultanate period under the chief architect who was designated as *Shahna-i-imarat* and *Mir-i-imarat*. Malikzadah Ahmad bin Ayaz¹ was *Shahna-i-imarat* and Malik Ghazi Shahna as *Mir-i-Imarat* under the Tughlaqs. Technical branch of the building department such as masonry, carpentry, blacksmithy and stone cutting was headed by a skilled superintendent. Plans of buildings prepared by the building department were examined by the finance department (*Diwan-i-wazarat*) and then adequate funds were allotted to the architects.² Another architect of the Tughlaq period was Malik Zahir-ul-Juyush³ who supervised the Khurramabad palace and introduced four-*iwan* plan for Sultan's Jami Mosque.⁴

A. RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS:

The nobles followed the royal practice and constructed buildings of public utility at different places. Thus, the nobles took interest in the constructional activities of both religious and secular merits. Malik Tajuddin Sanjar constructed Jami Masjids at several places.⁵ Epigraphic record confirms the construction of a Jami mosque at Hansi by Tajuddin Mir Miran Salari who was the commander-in-chief.⁶ Malik Saifuddin Aibek Shamsi Ajami constructed a Jami mosque at Sultanpur (a village near Delhi) in 1274 A.D.⁷ Similarly an inscription from Lakhnauti (Monghyr district) dated 1267 A.D. records the construction of a Jami mosque by Ikhtiyaruddin Firoz

¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 454, 424, 527; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 227, 237; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 386, 412, 413, 420; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 654-655; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 141. First metropolitan city planned by Ahmad Ayaz (Khwaja Jahan) was Adilabad. cf. P. L. Madan, 'Adilabad-A Dream of Muhammad bin Tughlaq', *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Vol. XXXVII, No. I, January 1963, pp. 49-50.

² Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 331; Eng. tr., p. 188; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89, 98; R. Nath, *History of Sultanate Architecture*, Delhi, 1978, p. 60; Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, pp. 160-161. For the details of Tughlaqid nobles and their constructional activities, see Fazeela Shahnawaz, 'Epigraphic Evidences for the Tughlaqid Nobles and their Constructional Activities in Rajasthan and Gujarat', *Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress*, Vol. XXVII, Jodhpur, 2014, pp. 43-53.

³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 454.

⁴ Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 88; Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, p. 55-56.

⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 256; Eng. tr., p. 755.

⁶ Inscription belongs to the Mamluk period. *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 34-35; *ARJE*, 1971-72, Appendix-D, no. 25.

⁷ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 26-27; *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. IV, No. II, pp. 112-116.

Aetigin as governor.⁸

The Khalji noble Malik Naib constructed a Jami mosque at Deogir⁹ and Qazi Imran Razi had constructed a mosque in white marble.¹⁰ The Jami Masjid of Bulandshahr was constructed by Muhammad Jalal who was the *muharrir* (secretary) to Mahmud, the *kotwal* of the area.¹¹ This mosque is of considerable size, built on Arab type plan using material from old Jain and Hindu temples.¹² The inscription from Bidar district, Kalyan mentions that a Jami mosque was constructed by Ulugh Khan Malik-ush-sharq Ikhtiyuddin Malik Shahin Sultani in 1323 A.D.¹³

Daulat Shah Muhammad al-Butamari the prominent Tughlaqid noble is said to have constructed several buildings especially the Jami mosque at Cambay (in Gujarat) in 1325 A.D. out of his own resources. Its spacious design and fine proportion illustrates the assertion of the Muslim constructional traditions with infusion of the local style.¹⁴ As governor of Gujarat he constructed another Jami Masjid at Broach in 1321 A.D. This mosque is different from the established architectural design of Delhi and Multan displaying much regional influence.¹⁵ Another noble Malik Mufarrih Sultani, *Dawadar-i-Khass* and *naib-i-iqta* of Cambay constructed Jami Masjid at Dholka (commonly known as Tanka Masjid) out of his personal money.¹⁶ The mosque has Indian type entrance porches with Indian style roofs and colonnades¹⁷ and built with local trabeate system and have open pillared prayer hall. It is remarkable for the rich and varied carvings on its pillars and ceilings.¹⁸

⁸ Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Bihar (A. H. 640-1200)*, Patna, 1973, pp. 11-13.

⁹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 333; Eng. tr., 514.

¹⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 205.

¹¹ *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 4-5; *ARIE*, 1962-63, Appendix-D, no. 256.

¹² For the details of building see, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 46.

¹³ *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 1-2; *ARIE*, 1965-67, Appendix-D, no. 246.

¹⁴ Mahdi Husain, 'Six Inscriptions of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah', *EIAPS*, 1957-58, pp. 29-34; *ARIE*, 1956-57, Appendix-D, no. 42; For details of the mosque, See Z. A. Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, Delhi, 1970, p. 19; James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1891, pp. 537; E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture: its Psychology, Structure and History*, London, 1913, pp. 51-52.

¹⁵ M. Nazim, 'Inscription from the Bombay Presidency', *EIAPS*, 1933-34, pp. 25-26; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 19; Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 537; Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 19; Jas. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat (Broach, Cambay, Dholka, Champir and Mahmudabad)*, A. S. I., Western India, Vol. VI, Varansi, 1971, pp. 20-22; *EIAPS*, 1933-34, pp. 26-27.

¹⁶ *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 9-10, 10-12, 12-14; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 8; Appendix-C, no. 9; Appendix-C, no. 10.

¹⁷ Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 52.

¹⁸ Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 19; for other details of the buildings refers to, Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 538; Jas. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

During the governorship of Malik Malik-ush-Sharq Ruknuddin Qutlugh a Jami Masjid at Dholka in Gujarat was erected by Qazi Hilal Khan with the help of Abdul Karim as an architect in 1333 A.D.¹⁹ Jami Masjid of Ladnun was reconstructed by Firoz of Dhansur, *sipahsalar*, when Malik Dailan Sultani was the deputy administrative officer of Ladnun.²⁰ This mosque was originally a colonnade building round a central courtyard, a plan usually referred to as the Arab type.²¹ While another Tughlaq official Izzuddin son of Aram Shah, the local governor, had constructed a Jami Mosque at Mangrol in 1383-84 A.D.²² The mosque is of considerable dimensions, undoubtedly, finest in Gujarat state. Built entirely of stone, it is the solid and massive structure having courtyard-cum-cloisters plan.²³ Furthermore, another inscription at Ravali Masjid records the construction of a Jami Masjid by a Tughlaqid noble Malik Abdul Malik (son of Husam), entitled Makhdumzadah who was posted at Mangrol in 386-87 A.D. This mosque is in trabeate style with an open pillared facade and a large and pretentious porch fronting its main entrance.²⁴

Another remarkable Jami mosque at Irich (near Jhansi, modern U.P.) was constructed by Qazi Ziauddin, brother of Khan Junaid, the imperial *jagirdar* of Delhi in 1412 A.D.²⁵ The mosque represents the stage of transition between the style of the Tughlaqs and that of the succeeding dynasty.²⁶ Jami mosque were constructed by the

¹⁹ Mahdi Husain, 'Six Inscriptions', *EIAPS*, 1957-58, pp. 40-42; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, No.7; For the details of building see, Furgussan, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 537-538; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp.30-31; Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 20; Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 52.

²⁰ A. Chaghtai, 'Some Inscriptions from Jodhpur State, Rajputana', *EIAPS*, 1949-50, pp. 18-19; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 62; Z. A. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, Jaipur, 1971, p. 100, no. 317 (hereafter cited as *PMIR*); For Malik Dailan, see, Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 527; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 115-117, 128, 318. He was *shiqqdar* of Hissar Firozah and then *Amir-i-Shikar* (chief of Hunt) under Firoz Shah Tughlaq.

²¹ Mehrdad Shoroohy, *Hissar-i-Firuzah (Sultanate and early Mughal Architecture in the district of Hissar, India)*, Monograph on Art, Archeology and Architecture, South Asian Series, London, 1988, pp. 126-129.

²² *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 24-26; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 11; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 151; Barani mentions Malik Izzuddin *Haji Dabir*. See, *Tarikh*, p. 528. But it is difficult to match this Malik with the person mentioned by Barani.

²³ For more details, see, Z. A. Desai, *Mosques of India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 27; Idem, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 20.

²⁴ *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 30-32. *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, pp. 13-14; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 135.

²⁵ A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ASI, Vol. II, Varanasi, 1969, p. 117.

²⁶ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 25. For the architectural details of the mosque, see, Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 117; Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report, (Tour in Bundelkhan and Malwa - 1871-72; Central provinces, 1873-74 by J.D. Beglar)*, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 32-33 (Hereafter cited as *ASIR*).

Tughlaqid nobles Zafar Khan Farsi in Junagadh (Gujarat),²⁷ the Sadr Qazi Husamuddin Hasan at Allahabad (U.P.);²⁸ by Malik-ush-Sharq Malik Nizamuddin at Patan in 1357-58 A.D.²⁹ and Malik Shamsuddin Tawakkul built a Jami Mosque in Khanpur which is of considerable size and perhaps the earliest built mosque in Maharashtra during the Sultanate period.³⁰ Likewise, Miyan Firoz son of Malik Muhammad Lutfullah Afghan had constructed a Jami mosque at Deoband (Saharanpur district, U.P.) in 1510 A.D.³¹

Besides these Jami Mosques, a large number of other mosques were also constructed by nobles. The inscription on the eastern gate of the Chaurasi Khamba mosque at Kaman (Bharatpur district) refers to its construction by Malik Bahauddin Tughril.³² Chaurasi Khamba Masjid is a colonnaded building built round a central courtyard and constructed on Arab-type plan.³³

An inscription from Aligarh refers to the construction of a mosque by Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, *wazir* of Sultan Iltutmish.³⁴ Malik-ul-Umara Iftikharuddin, the *amir* of Karah, constructed a mosque at Bilgram.³⁵ Likewise inscription from Hansi during the time of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah referred to the construction of

²⁷ Dated 768 A.H./1367 A.D. See, *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 15-17; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, pp. 3-4; *ARIE*, 1954-1955, Appendix-C, no. 160; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, 1879, p. 182. For Zafar Khan Farsi, see Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 583; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 137-142, 156, 158, 162, 206-07, 225; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 126, 131; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 115; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 126. He was appointed *naib-wazir*, with salary of four lakh *tankah* by Sultan Firoz.

²⁸ Inscription is dated 786 A.H./1384 A.D. See, *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 18-19; *ARIE*, 1961-62, Appendix-D, no. 297; Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 140. Though some names, which are recorded in the inscriptions did not match with the contemporary sources, but here, their post or titles are mentioned, as seen in several other examples.

²⁹ *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 8-9; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 77. For Nizam-ul-Mulk Amir-i-Miran See Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 350.

³⁰ Nazim, *Inscription*, *EIAPS*, 1933-34, pp. 46-47; *ARIE*, 1978-79, Appendix-C, no. 80.

³¹ *EIM*, 1910-11, no. 1103; *ARIE*, 1967-68, Appendix-D, no. 272; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 89.

³² *ARIE*, 1965-67, Appendix-D, no. 320; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 96, No. 303; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 51; Mehrdad Shokoohy & Natalie H. Shokoohy, *Architecture*, p. 115; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³³ Mehrdad Shokoohy & Natalie H. Shokoohy, *Architecture*, pp. 114-132; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104. Percy Brown assigned the construction of Ukha Masjid to Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji. *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay, 1956, p. 19; while epigraphic evidence suggests that southern structure was constructed by Malik Kafur Sultani in 1320 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji. For details see *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 50; Rajeev Bargoti, *Bayana*, Jaipur, 2003, pp. 38-45.

³⁴ Z. A. Desai, 'Inscriptions of the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi', *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 8-9; For Junaidi See Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 173; Awfi dedicated *Jawami-ul-Hikayat* to him. See Introduction to *Jawami-ul-Hikayat*, Nizamuddin (ed), London, 1929, pp. 142, 206, 209, 220, 225, 245.

³⁵ *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 23. For Malik Iftikharuddin, see Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 177.

a mosque by Malik Badruddin Sunqar-i-Sufi as-Sultani in 1246 A.D.³⁶ An inscription of Sultan Balban which refers to the erection of a mosque by Umar al-Ghori governor of Narnaul.³⁷ Similarly, other nobles of Mamluk Sultans are mentioned having constructed mosques at different places. Malik Qirabek son of Aibek (*muqti* of Sonapat) had constructed mosque in Sonapat.³⁸ An Amir named Riyaz who was the *sipahsalar* (commander-in-chief) of Sultan Balban constructed the mosque in 1284 A.D. attached to the *khanqah* of Shah Wilayat at Manglaur (Shahrampur district, U.P.).³⁹ Malik Yatgin constructed a mosque in 1284 A.D. at Badaon.⁴⁰ *Fawaid-ul-Fua'd* also mentions a mosque which was constructed by Malik Aitmar.⁴¹

Khalji nobles continued the practice of constructing mosques at different places. Malik Kafur Sultani had constructed a mosque in Bayana (Bharatpur district, Rajasthan) in 1320 A.D.⁴² It is the oldest mosque of the town locally known as Ukha Masjid. Another inscription from Petlad (Kaira district, Gujarat) mentions that during the governorship of Alp Khan and during the administration of Saiyyid-ul-Umara Ikhtiyaruddin Balarami, a mosque was constructed there by Badruddin Dinar in 1314 A.H.⁴³ Alp Khan is also credited with the construction of the Jami mosque (Adina Masjid) of white marble at Patan.⁴⁴ It is recorded that Malik Shamsuddin Ali, *amir-i-ku* (Prefect of the Roads) during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji, had constructed a mosque at Dholka in 1318 A.D.⁴⁵ Inscription dated 1319 A.D. referred to the construction of a mosque by Malik Amber who was the *hajjab-i-azam* (grand usher) to Khusrau Khan during the reign of Mubarak Khalji.⁴⁶

³⁶ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 17-18.

³⁷ *EIAPS*, 1972, pp. 1-3.

³⁸ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 27-28; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 138 (Hereafter cited as *EI*); *ARIE*, 1973-74, Appendix-D, no. 153.

³⁹ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 30-31.

⁴¹ Sijzi, *Fawaid-ul-Fua'd*, pp. 78-79; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 156.

⁴² *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 41-42; Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XX, 1885, pp. 71-72; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 44, no. 139; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 21; Rajeev Bargoti, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴³ *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 32-33; *ARIE*, 1975-76, Appendix-D, no. 115. For career of Alp Khan see Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 242, 263, 323, 368; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 74, 173, 208; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, pp. 114-115; M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1938, pp. 5, 7, 10-11.

⁴⁴ *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 2; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 52; Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 36; Eng. tr., p. 29; *Mirat-i-Sikandari* as quoted by Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 332; Idem, 'Cultural Activity', pp. 50-51.

⁴⁵ *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 4-5; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 6. For the office of *Amir-i-Ku*, see S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1939, p. 410.

⁴⁶ *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 40. For Malik Amber see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, pp. 211, 215, 219, 222-223, 226, 564, 604-605, 607.

The trend to construct mosques became markedly greater with the progress of time and prosperity of the elite class. Under the Tughlaqs Malik Ibrahim, *naib-i-barbak Sultani* (deputy head chamberlain of Sultan) constructed a mosque in the fort of Jaunpur during the reign of Firoz Shah.⁴⁷ It is a long, narrow structure of early Bengali type, having a simple arcade supported on pillars, with three low domes in the middle.⁴⁸ Adina Masjid at Hansi was constructed by Malik Shahin Sultani, a prominent noble of Firoz Shah Tughlaq.⁴⁹ *Sipahsalar* Usman is recorded to have constructed a mosque at Chanderi during the governorship of Dilawar Khan in 1392-93 A.D.⁵⁰ whereas another inscription of the same date from Dhar stated that all the old mosques which had fallen into ruins were reconstructed by Dilawar Khan under whom Malwa prospered again.⁵¹ Thus, the renovation works were also carried on by the nobles.

The *wazirs* of Sultan Firoz, popularly known as Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul and his son Khan-i-Jahan Malik Junan Shah also entitled Khan-i-Jahan (II) built a large number of mosques.⁵² Such as the mosques like Begumpur Masjid, Kalu Sarai Masjid, Kalan Masjid at Nizamuddin,⁵³ Kalan Masjid at Shahjahanabad as well as Khirki Masjid. The mosques constructed by them were of a uniform pattern, with slight variations, built with rubble stone and plaster, having strongly fortified gateways, multi-domed roofing with round turreted corners. These mosques had square quartzite pillars at the doors and roofs and a general courtyard surrounded by a strong enclosure round it.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *EIAPS*, 1975, pp. 21-25; *ARIE*, 1965-66, Appendix-C, no. 581; Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XI, New Imp. Series, p. 106; *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, p. 15; Further, *Monumental Antiquities*, pp. 180; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 43; Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 521. Building is dated 761 A.H./1360 A.D.

⁴⁸ For more details of the building see, A. Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 180; Idem, *Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, Varansi, 1971, p. 25; Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 521.

⁴⁹ *ARIE*, 1971-72, Appendix-D, no. 16; *EIAPS*, 1953-54, p. 2. For Malik Shahin Sultani, see Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297.

⁵⁰ *EIM*, 1925-26, p. 15; *ARIE*, 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 98.

⁵¹ *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 15; *ARIE*, 1971-72, Appendix-D, no. 73.

⁵² Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 25. These mosques are Jami Masjid at Kotla Firuzabad (1354), Kali Masjid (1370) at Nizamuddin, Kalan Masjid (1375) in Shahjahanabad, Khirki Masjid and Begumpuri Masjid (1387). For Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, see Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 397, 405, 422.

⁵³ *ARIE*, 1975-76, Appendix-D, no. 81; *Memoir of Archeological Survey of India*, p. 179.

⁵⁴ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 21; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

In the province of Rajasthan several mosques were constructed by the Tughlaqid nobles at Didwana, Ladnun, Mandor and at Bayana. Tatar Khan Khabbaz (baker) had built a mosque at Didwana (Jodhpur State)⁵⁵ while at the same place another mosque was constructed by Malik Kabir, son of Khwajgi.⁵⁶ During the governorship of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Chupan, the mosque at Ladnun was constructed (1378 A.D.) by local chief Alauddin Mubarak alias Jai Singh.⁵⁷ The mosques were reconstructed and fort was rehabilitated by Iqbal Khan in 1400-01 A.D. at Bayana after the retreat of Timur.⁵⁸

In Gujarat Tughlaq noble *Sadr* Ziyauddin Muhammad and Malik Fakhruddin constructed mosques at Patan in 1334 A.D. and in 1364 A.D. respectively.⁵⁹ While Shamsuddin Damghani, the governor of Gujarat entitled Malik-ush-Sharq had constructed a mosque in Baroda.⁶⁰ In Cambay Malik Mufarrih Sultani built a mosque when he was *muqti*.⁶¹ The epigraphic records further inform us that the Tughlaqid nobles constructed the mosque at Mangrol⁶² and at Prabhas Patana respectively.⁶³

In South India a mosque was constructed at Daulatabad by Malik-ush-Sharq Saifud-Daulat.⁶⁴ Malik-ul-Umara Ikhtiyaruddin Ulugh Azam Qubli Sultani (entitled Nasir-ul-Mulk) built a mosque at Kaghzipura (near Daulatabad).⁶⁵

The Lodi nobles also patronized the constructional activities and had constructed a large number of mosques. Bhikan Khan (noble of Sultan Sikandar Lodi) constructed forty mosques.⁶⁶ Moth ki Masjid at Delhi is mentioned to have been

⁵⁵ A. Chaghtai, 'Some Inscriptions from Jodhpur State, Rajasthan', *EIAPS*, 1949-50, p. 20; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 38; *ARIE*, 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 143; Desai, *PMIR*, pp. 58-59, no. 183.

⁵⁶ *EIAPS*, 1949-50, pp. 20-21; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 59, no. 184; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 38.

⁵⁷ Desai, 'Khalji and Tughlaq', *EIAPS*, 1972, pp. 23-31; Desai, *PMIR*, pp. 100-101, no. 318; *ARIE*, 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 161.

⁵⁸ Desai, *PMIR*, p. 45, no. 141.

⁵⁹ *ARIE*, 1973-74, Appendix-D, no. 80; *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 14-15; *ARIE*, 1956-57, Appendix-D, no. 98.

⁶⁰ *EIAPS*, 1939-40, pp. 1-2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1962, pp. 19-20; *ARIE*, 1956-57, Appendix-D, no. 50.

⁶² *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 23-24; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 150; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, pp. 9-10.

⁶³ Z. A. Desai, 'Inscription from the Museum of Antiquities, Junagarh', *EIAPS*, 1955-56, p. 89; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, p. 45; *ARIE*, 1952-53, Appendix-C, no. 112. The date is recorded as 720 A.H./1320 A.D. but Desai deciphered it as 726 A.H./1326 A.D.

⁶⁴ *ARIE*, 1962-63, Appendix-D, no. 113.

⁶⁵ *EIAPS*, 1957-58, pp. 39-40; *ARIE*, 1958-59, Appendix-D, no. 52.

⁶⁶ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 59.

constructed by Mian Bhua, *wazir* of Sikandar Lodi.⁶⁷ Similarly, Malik Chainladh son of Malik Ghazandar had constructed a mosque at Prabhas Patan (Junagarh district, Gujarat) in 900 A.H./1494 A.D.⁶⁸ However, by the end of the Sultanate period a mosque was built at Bayana by Masnad-i-Ali Nizam Khan in 1517-26 A.D.⁶⁹

Besides mosques and Jami Mosques, *idgahs* or *namazgahs* were also constructed by the nobles at a considerable scale. Earliest reference of an *idgah* constructed by a noble comes from an epigraph dated 1307 A.D. Accordingly Malik Saifuddin Daulat wad'din Yusuf Khani constructed an *idgah* at Jajmau during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji.⁷⁰ Later Malik Kafur, military general of Alauddin Khalji constructed an *idgah* at Rapri (Mainpuri district, U.P.). The bricks are of a special size, some of them being ornamented.⁷¹ While at Jalor *idgah* was built by Malik-ul-Umara Tajud-Daulat wa'd-din Malik Hoshang son of Malik Kamaluddin Gurg during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji.⁷²

Daulat Shah Muhammad al-Butamari, the prominent noble of the Tughlaq, is said to have constructed *idgah* at Broach in 1320 A.D. out of his personal resources.⁷³ At Cambay, the *idgah* was constructed by Malik Mufarrih Sultani in 1381-82 A.D.⁷⁴ During the governorship of Zafar Khan, another *idgah* was constructed by Kamal Hamid at Mosampura (at Gogha).⁷⁵ A *namazgah* was constructed at Dalmau (Raibareilly district, U.P.) by Malik-ush-Sharq Tajuddin during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq.⁷⁶

⁶⁷ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 29-30; Ruknuddin Quddusi, *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, Delhi, 1311/1894, pp. 46, 48, 61 quoted by Simon Digby, 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (1456-1537) The Personality and Attitudes of a Medieval Indian Sufi', *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, Vol. III, p. 30; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 89. According to Percy Brown there are several conspicuous and attractive features in the Moth ki Masjid, such as the shape and proportions of the five main arches of the facade, with the emphasis given to the central bay; the spacing, disposition and volume of its three domes; the refinement of the tapering turrets on the rear wall; the design of the doorway and its projecting balcony opening at sides; and above the towers in two storeys at the rear corner, which had a note of pleasing vitality to this aspect of the building.

⁶⁸ *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 174; Appendix-D, no. 9.

⁶⁹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, pp. 20, 21; Rajeev Bargouti, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, 140.

⁷⁰ *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 3-4; *ARIE*, 1961-62, Appendix-D, no. 318.

⁷¹ *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 30; Daya Ram Sahni, *Annual Report of ASI, 1929-30*, Delhi, 1990, p. 6.

⁷² *EIAPS*, 1972, pp. 12-17; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 88, no. 279; *ARIE*, 1966-67, Appendix-D, no. 194; *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 49.

⁷³ *EIAPS*, 1957-58, pp. 29-34.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1962, pp. 20-21; *ARIE*, 1959-60, Appendix-D, no. 134.

⁷⁵ *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 37-38; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhawnagari*, pp. 7-8; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 23.

⁷⁶ *ARIE*, 1965-67, Appendix-D, no. 608.

Like mosques, tombs built by the nobles displayed great variety in plan. Malik Fakhruddin Kotwal constructed a *rauza* (mausoleum) near Jami mosque at Delhi.⁷⁷ Malik Sher Khan (cousin of Balban) had built a lofty and spacious *gumbad* (cupola/tomb) in Bhatnir.⁷⁸ A fragmentary inscription from Biharsharif (Nalanda, Bihar) records that Abu Mukarim Tatar Khan built a tomb over the remains of Sultan Shah.⁷⁹

Malik Tajuddin who was the deputy governor of Gujarat during the time of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji built a tomb at Jalor (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) in 1318 A.D.⁸⁰ Epigraph from Bari Khatu (Nagaur district, Rajasthan) records that a tomb was constructed during the governorship of Malik-ul-Umara Saifuddin Daulat wad-Din.⁸¹ Similarly at Jajmau (Kanpur, U.P.) the tomb of Shaikh Alauddin Yusuf was constructed by Ghiyasuddin Muhammad who was the *sadr* in 1360 A.D.⁸²

Among the tombs constructed by Tughlaqid nobles, a leading example comes from Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul Telingani, *wazir* of Sultan Firoz Shah. He initiated constructing his tomb which was completed by his son Junan Shah.⁸³ The design and plan of Khan-i-Jahan's tomb was an invention in tomb architecture. Its octagonal plan enclosed within rotating verandah roofed by a dome resembles the 7th century mosque at Jerusalem. It is first octagonal tomb built at Delhi in 1368 A.D.⁸⁴

At Mehrauli (Delhi) the tomb of great Khan, Alp Khan, was built by a person called Kafur Khani out of his own money in 1376 A.D.⁸⁵ Besides, Muqarrabuddin, another prominent Tughlaq noble and a companion of Mafkhar-ul-Umara Malik Sultan Shah had built a tomb at Bangarmau (Unnao district, U.P.) in 1383 A.D.⁸⁶ Zafar Khan as the governor of Gujarat had built a tomb of a local saint known as

⁷⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 118.

⁷⁸ Barani mentions the dome of Bhatnir as a wonderful memorial after the legendary warrior. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 42; Eng. tr., p. 102; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, pp. 71, 78; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 148; Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 35.

⁷⁹ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 23-25; *ARIE*, 1976-77; Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp. 6-9, Appendix-D, no. 97.

⁸⁰ *EIAPS*, 1935-36, pp. 49-50. For Malik Tajuddin see Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 379-380.

⁸¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, Appendix-D, no. 198; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 30, no. 93.

⁸² *ARIE*, 1961-62, Appendix-D, no. 314.

⁸³ Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. ; Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, pp. 84.

⁸⁴ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 25; Rustam J. Mehta, *Masterpieces of Indo-Islamic Architecture*, Bombay, 1976, p. 10; Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, pp. 84-85; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, p. 51. This pattern was used outside India, especially in Arabia at Dome of Rock, Mosque of Omar, earliest monumental Tomb-Qubbat as Sulaibiya.

⁸⁵ *ARIE*, 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 65. No other information comes about Kafur Khani, but Barani Mention Alp Khan, son of Qutlugh Khan in his list of leading nobles of Firoz Shah. See, *Tarikh*, p. 527.

⁸⁶ *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 16-18; *ARIE*, 1961-62, Appendix-D, no. 324.

Makhdum *Chirag-i-Hind* during the reign of Firoz Shah in 1397 A.D. It is a plain building with short pillars supporting a square dome. The pillars are of different variety having shafts octagonal below sixteen sided in middle and circular at the top. The capitals are all round, the upper part being like a tulip-shaped bowl over which rests the bracket-capitals.⁸⁷ An important inscription from the Dargah of Shah Wilayat records the construction of the tomb of Saint Hazrat Badruddin by Khizr, son of Nasrullah who was the *kotwal* of the district of Badaon.⁸⁸ Another tomb of a saint Jalal ul Haq was constructed by Malik Ishaq Lashkari during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah in 1412 A.D. at Panipat.⁸⁹

The Lodi tombs built inside the walled off gardens mark a new development in medieval Indian architecture. Similar to their Sultans, the Lodi nobles also constructed such tombs and continued the practice of tomb constructions. Malik-ush-Sharq Imad-ul-Mulk constructed the tomb of his father Malik-ush-Sharq Imad-ul-Mulk at Badaon in 1478 A.D.⁹⁰ Inscription from the tomb of Shaikh Jalaluddin Makhdum, Panipat (Karnal district, Haryana) records that Firuz Muhammad Lutfullah Afghan constructed the dome over the tomb of the holy Shaikh in 1499 A.D.⁹¹ Daulat Khan Lodi and Majlis-i-Ala (commander-in chief) constructed a tombs near Delhi.⁹² Alam Khan, son of Mujahid Khan, the *muqti* constructed a tomb at Tahangarh (Sawaimadhopur district, Rajasthan).⁹³ Thus, the tombs constructed by the nobles and officials at different places, in a large number, further indicate their inclination towards the art of building construction and patronage to the building activities at a larger scale.

Similar to other religious structures, *minars* were also recorded to have been constructed by the nobles. Epigraph records the construction of a *minar* at Aligarh (U.P.) by Ulugh Khan Balban.⁹⁴ Another *minar* was constructed by Masnad-i-Ali

⁸⁷ Fuhrer, *Sharqi Architecture*, pp. 4, 65-66.

⁸⁸ *ARIE*, 1960-61, Appendix-D, no. 224.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1971-72, Appendix-D, no. 32.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1960-61, Appendix-D, no. 248.

⁹¹ *EI*, Vol. II, p. 137; *ARIE*, 1963-64, Appendix-D, no. 297; *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, p. 141.

⁹² *EIM*, 1919-1920, pp. 7, 10.

⁹³ *ARIE*, 1963-64, Appendix-D, no. 314; *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 91; Desai, *PMIR*, no. 283, pp. 75-76.

⁹⁴ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 22-23; *ARIE*, 1975-76, Appendix-D, no. 223; Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 299. It was built during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud. But it was wantonly destroyed by the British district officer in 1861. It was in style, the second of its kind in India and possibly meant to serve as a pillar of victory. See Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, Delhi, 1967, p. 129.

Nizam Khan, son of Mujahid Khan, in 1519-20 A.D. during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. It is known as Ukha Minar, situated at Sultankot (Bharatpur district, Rajasthan).⁹⁵

It is very significant to note that among the religious structures, not only the Jami mosques, mosques, *idgah* and tombs were constructed by the nobles but evidence indicates the renovation and construction of the Jaina temples. It is further significant to note that Thakkur Pheru (mint master of Sultan Alaaddin Khalji) wrote a book *Vastusara* on temple architecture. This book nowhere contains any hint that there were any restrictions on the construction of temples. He also wrote a treatise on architecture, *Prasadmandala*.⁹⁶ It shows that temple architecture was also developing side by side.

It is recorded that Samar Singh, a great Jain of Patan repaired with the permission of the Khalji government the famous Satrunjaya temple in Palitana in 1315 A.D. Sultan Mubarak Khalji appointed him to an important post of *vyavahara* (commissioner) at Delhi. He was a close friend of Malik Alp Khan, Khalji governor of Gujrat. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq regarded him as his son and sent him to Telingana where he built many Jain temples. Muhammad bin Tughlaq looked upon him as his brother and made him governor of Telingana.⁹⁷ Jaina works praises Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat during the Khalji regime, for his donations and permitting the reconstruction of temples earlier.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *EIM*, 1909-1910, no. 205; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, pp. 21, 22; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 48, no. 151; Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XX, pp. 73-74; Rajeev Bargoti, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, 139.

⁹⁶ V. S. Agarwal, 'A Note on Medieval Hindu Temple Architecture', *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. I, 1943, pp. 112-117; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. pp. 333-334; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 158.

⁹⁷ K. H. Kamdar, 'Samar Singh, A Great Gujarati at the Court of Delhi, about A.D. 1321', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 629-632; C. B. Sheth, *Jainism in Gujarat (A.D. 1100 to 1600)*, Bombay, 1953, p. 179; Qamaruddin, *Society and Culture in Early Medieval India*, p. 63; Kalipada Mitra, 'Historical References in Jain Poems', *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1941, pp. 301-302.

⁹⁸ S. C. Misra, *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat from 1298 to 1442*, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 68-69; Sheth, *Jainism in Gujarat*, p. 179; Mahdi Husain, *Tughlaq Dynasty*, pp. 315-316. The Jaina works mentions the repairing of the temples with the permission of a Khalji governor. Likewise an inscription corroborates such information when during the suppression of the rebellion of Bahauddin Gurshap a Hindu temple at Kalyani was damaged and Siva-linga was broken. Local Hindu notables approached Ahmad Jajneri, the governor of Kalyani and sought his permission for the repair of the temple and the resumption of the worship of God. Governor after consulting his secretary, a Hindu official, granted the permission, adding that since the worship of God was a duty, it was correct that petitioners should pursue it. See Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 287, 288; P. B. Desai, 'Kalyan Inscription of Sultan Muhammad', *EIAPS*, pp. 165-170; Habib & Nizami (eds). *Comprehensive History*, Vol. V, p. 503; W. H. Siddiqui, 'Religious Tolerance as Gleaned from Medieval Inscriptions', *PSMI*, p. 54.

B. SECULAR AND PUBLIC WELFARE WORKS:

Epigraphic records replete with instances of construction of not only religious buildings but the secular structures like forts, wells, step wells, Inns and *khanqahs* etc. were constructed.

There are several references regarding the town building activities of the nobles of the Delhi Sultan. According to Minhaj, Malik Bahauddin Tughril and his army did not like to reside in the fort of Thangir due to inconveniences thus he founded a strategic city at Sultankot in the territory of Bayana and made it his headquarter. It was the first Muslim city as recorded by historians to have been built in northern India.⁹⁹ Later Balban's cousin Malik Sher Khan founded the city and fort of Bhatnir with a big tower to check the increasing Mongol threats.¹⁰⁰ Malik Zafar Khan, Tughlaqid noble, had founded a city Zafarabad on the bank of Gumti River at Jaunpur district and named it *Shahr-i-Anwar*.¹⁰¹

To fulfill the military needs, the nobles even made efforts to built strategic forts. Malik Husamuddin Iwaz Husain Khalji, a Shamsi noble, had constructed the fort of Basankot.¹⁰² Malik Sher Khan, cousin of Balban, had built several forts and a lofty cupola in Bhatinda and Bhatnir. These two places soon developed as important towns of Delhi Sultanate.¹⁰³ Inscription from Begusarai (Bihar) dated 1293 A.D. records the construction of a fort in the reign of Kaikaus Shah by Ikhtiyaruddin Abul Ma'ali Firoz Aetigin.¹⁰⁴

Early in the fourteenth century Ghazi Malik, *muqta* of Dipalpur, constructed in lower Sind a new fortress named Ghazipur.¹⁰⁵ Isami referred to Ulugh Khan later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq who ordered Ahmad Ayaz (*Shahna-i-Imarat*) to

⁹⁹ Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, ed. Syed Amir Hasan Abidi, New Delhi, 2008, p. 197; Eng. tr., pp. 201-202; Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 145; Eng. tr., pp. 544-547; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 22-23; Eng. tr., pp. 48-49; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 57; Eng. tr., pp. 80-81; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 59; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 15; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Muhammad Habib, *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1981, pp. 116-117; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 143; Rajeev Bargoti, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Sunil Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 148.

¹⁰¹ Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 185.

¹⁰² People started settling down around this fort. Minhaj, *Tabaqat*, p. 161.

¹⁰³ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 109; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 42; Eng. tr., p. 102; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 71; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁴ Qeyarnuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁵ Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 251; Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 91; S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1957, pp. 133-134; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 127. He repaired and strengthened the fortress of Sarsuti. See Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 94; Eng. tr., p. 206.

construct a fort at Afghanpur.¹⁰⁶ While Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (having Sirhind and its adjoining areas under his control) was ordered by Sultan Firoz Shah to build a fort at Firozpur¹⁰⁷ and Malik Mujir Abu Rija was given the charge of repairing the fortress of Kalanaur.¹⁰⁸

Very little information is available about the constructional activities of nobles of Siyyid Sultans. A bilingual inscription dated 1444 A.D. states that Khan-i-Azam Khaqan-i-Muazzam Majlis-i-Ali Azam Khan (son of Mubarak Khan) constructed the fort of the town of Fathpur (Bharatpur, Rajasthan).¹⁰⁹ A significant epigraph records that a Lodi noble Malik Mukhlis Daud Khan has constructed the fort (*hisar*) at Tajpur Basahi in Saran district of Bihar in 1373 A.D.¹¹⁰ Khan-i-Azam Zafar Khan, son of Wajih, *muqti* of Gujarat constructed a strong fort at Mangrol in 1400 A.D.¹¹¹ The work of making the rings and loops of the gates strong and high city wall of Mangrol in steel and iron was carried out at the instance of Malik Yaqub by his brother Malik Musa, the *Kotwal* of that town. Earlier the *halaqa* (chains) of the doors was not of iron. Malik Musa required two hundred *mans* of iron for strengthening the fort.¹¹² Muhammad Khan Sherwani was appointed the governor of Kol by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi who constructed a new fort in 1525 A.D.¹¹³ Mitha bin Umar and Shihab bin Munawwar who were mentioned as *shiqdar* and *dabir* respectively, constructed the fort during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi.¹¹⁴ Malik Kamal constructed the gate and repaired the Alai fort at Hansi during the governorship of Masnad-i-Ali Hamid Khan¹¹⁵ whereas Haji Khan constructed the city wall and gate at the instance of the

¹⁰⁶ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 417; Eng. tr., Vol. II, pp. 630-631; For Ahmad Ayaz, see, Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 424, 454.

¹⁰⁷ Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 248; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Eng. tr., p. 137.

¹⁰⁸ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 423-424; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 101; Eng. tr., p. 103; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 245.

¹⁰⁹ *ARIE*, 1978-79, Appendix-C, no. 108.

¹¹⁰ Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 57-59; *ARIE*, 1962-63, Appendix-D, no. 25; Z. A. Desai, *A Tughluq Inscription from North Bihar*, Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume Dacca Museum, 1966, pp. 201-203.

¹¹¹ *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 38-40; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 135, 136, 137. For Zafar Khan, See, Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117.

¹¹² *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 32-37; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Appendix-B, no. 513, Appendix-C, no. 136.

¹¹³ *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal Journal*, Atkinson (ed.), Nov. 1872, no. IX; Dr. S. Moin-ul-Haq, 'Kol (Aligarh) During the Rule of the Lodi Sultans (1451-1526)', *Proc. I.H.C.*, Madras, 1944, p. 290.

¹¹⁴ Inscription was found from Moti Masjid, Aligarh and is now preserved in Indian Museum, Calcutta. *ARIE*, 1952-53, Appendix-C, no. 17.

¹¹⁵ *EIAPS*, 1953-54, pp. 4-5; *ARIE*, 1971-72, Appendix-D, no. 17.

Lodi governor, Darya Khan Nuhani.¹¹⁶

The nobles under Delhi Sultans also constructed palatial buildings. Ulugh Khan Balban constructed a palace when he was an influential noble.¹¹⁷ Malik Majd-ul-Mulk (the father of Zia Barani) who was *naib* of Arkali Khan built a palatial building at Kilokhari.¹¹⁸ Likewise, Malik Bahlol Lodi, as *muqti* had built a spacious *haveli* at Sirhind.¹¹⁹

An early thirteenth century inscription from West Bengal referred to the endowments to the *khanqahs*. The *khanqahs* were meant for the lodging of travellers and resident Sufis and saints. Thus, nobles set up the *khanqahs* and provided large sum for their maintenance.¹²⁰ Malik Zainuddin Majdul-Mulk, *muqti* of Bihar under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, had constructed a *khanqah* by the order of the Sultan for the Sufi saint Sheikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri of Firdausia order. Revenue from Rajgir was granted for the upkeep of this *khanqah*.¹²¹ In South, Sheikh Ibrahim, *muqti* of Dhar, had built a hospice on the hillock.¹²² At every station from Delhi to Daulatabad, there was a hospice for the travellers that provided their needs during the Tughlaq period.¹²³ Ibn Battuta witnessed a *khanqah* on the way to Bhakkar, built by Kishlu Khan, during his governorship of Sindh where free food was supplied to all the travellers.¹²⁴ Khwaja Jahan Ahmad bin Ayaz, the *wazir*, constructed a hospice at Palam in which backyard daughter of Ibn Battuta was buried.¹²⁵

The *khanqah* of Sayyid-ul-Hujjab stands on a raised ground and consists of a dome to the north and of two arched *dalans* opposite to it to the South. The domed structure seems to have been the tomb of Sayyid-ul-Hujjab Malik Maruf, a disciple of

¹¹⁶ W. H. Siddiqui, 'Lodi and Sur Inscriptions from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh', *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 26-27; *ARIE*, 1955-56, Appendix-D, no. 78.

¹¹⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 178; Lal, *Khaljis*, p. 17. Yahya mentions that when Balban was a Khan he laid the foundation of a fortress at Makar-Kachauri and renamed it. See *Tarikh*, p. 40; Eng. tr., pp. 37-38.

¹¹⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 209.

¹¹⁹ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 17.

¹²⁰ *EIAPS*, 1975, p. 8; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 144; Luniya, *op. cit.*, p. 91, 229.

¹²¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 538-39, 560, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 330-331; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 64; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 145. Another *malfuz* literature of a 15th-16th century Sufi Saint, Syed Muhammad Qadri refers several times to Darya Khan, the governor of Bihar, who erected a *khanqah*, along with the mosque and a *kushk* (villa) for the saint. Quoted by S. H. Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of the Last Two Lodi Sultans of Delhi', *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1955, p. 153.

¹²² Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 167.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹²⁴ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 603.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 383.

Shaikh Nizamuddin.¹²⁶ Ziya-ul-Haq, governor of Bihar, too had built a *khanqah* during the reign of Mahmud Shah which was completed in 1396-97 A.D.¹²⁷ *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* mentions that Nizamuddin Kharitahdar had built a *khanqah* for Shaikh Burhanuddin Ghaznavi.¹²⁸

Besides *khanqahs*, inns (*serai*) were also built by the nobles for the sufis and travellers. Malik Sumbul, *Mehtar-i-Sarai* (Inn-keeper), had built a *Sarai* (Inn) at a village called Bhadgaon, Gujarat in 1328 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.¹²⁹

The nobles frequently constructed wells, step wells, lakes, canals and tanks for irrigation as well as for the use of common people and travellers.¹³⁰ Kaman inscription of Rajasthan records the construction of a well, tank and a mosque in the time of Malik Bahauddin Tughril.¹³¹ Another inscription from Bayana records the clearance and re-digging of a well during the time of Balban and the governorship of Nusrat Khan, *muqti* of Bayana.¹³² Third inscription from the same district records the repair of a mosque and a well during the reign of Alauddin Khalji.¹³³

During the time of Iltutmish the construction of a well was renewed by the governor Malik Qutlugh Aibek.¹³⁴ *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* records the construction of a well by Ainuddin, the *dabir*.¹³⁵ A well was excavated at Bediban (Champaran, Bihar) during the governorship of Izzuddin Malik-ul-Umara (*Qazi-i-Muhr-i-Khass*) under the superintendence of Mahmud son of Yusuf.¹³⁶ A well was constructed in the town (Petlad, Gujarat) by Haji Ismail, son of Usman Shirazi, for public use. The builder obtained the grant of 20 *khumbas* of land from Saiyyid-ul-Umara, Badruddin

¹²⁶ *ELAPS*, 1959, pp. 4-6; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Zafar Hasan, *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Province*, Vol. III, p. 121; K. A. Nizami, 'Some Aspects of Khanqah Life in Medieval India', *Studia Islamica*, Exfascicullo, VIII, Lahore, Paris, MCML, VII; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 199. For Maruf, See, Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 527-528; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 445-51.

¹²⁷ *ELAPS*, 1961, pp. 32-34.

¹²⁸ Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad*, pp. 79-80; Eng. tr., pp. 188-189.

¹²⁹ Dated 728 A.H./1328 A.D. See, Q. M. Moneer, 'Two Unpublished Inscriptions of the Time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq', *ELAPS*, 1939-40, pp. 23-26.

¹³⁰ *ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos. D-119, D-138, D-155; *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. D-198, D-204; *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. D-338, D-341, D-343, D-349; *ELAPS*, 1967, pp. 1-24.

¹³¹ *ARIE*, 1965-67, p. 161, Appendix-D, no. 320; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 96, no. 303; *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 56.

¹³² As Bayana owing to its vicinity of Delhi was important *iqta* awarded to distinguished noble, Nusrat Khan seems to be a high rank distinguished noble of Balban as well. *ELAPS*, 1937-38, pp. 5-6; Rajeev Bargouti, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97, 136.

¹³³ *EIM*, 1917-1918, pp. 19-20; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 43, no. 135.

¹³⁴ *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 25.

¹³⁵ Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 197.

¹³⁶ Qeyamuddin, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian*, pp. 30-32; *ARIE*, 1955-56, Appendix-D, no. 68; 1956-57, Appendix-D, No. 68; *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 25.

Abubakr, the *muqta* of Petlad for its upkeep. It also enjoins upon the future *Amirs*, *Maliks* and *muqtis* to continue the grant of the said land.¹³⁷ Likewise, a well for drinking water was constructed by Mubarak Khan Nuhani during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.¹³⁸

The nobles built *baolis* consisting of more than one storey. These *baolis* were constructed in cities, towns and along the highways. Ibn Battuta in his travel account refers to a number of step wells that he found in different parts of north India. He further informs that the *Maliks* and *Amirs* posted in the provinces tried to outdo one another in building *baoli* or step wells on the roads for the benefit of the travellers. He gives a detailed description of the step wells in the territorial unit of Kol (modern Aligarh).¹³⁹

Malik Kafur Sultani had constructed a step well known as Jhalar Baoli in Bayana during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji.¹⁴⁰ It is a square tank built with red sandstone, surrounded by a colonnade with four domed entrances at four corners, each built into a circular tower. Several flights of steps lead from the colonnade to the tank.¹⁴¹ A step well at Batihagarh (near Damoh) was constructed when Malik Juljin was governor and Jalaluddin Ahsan Husaini was his *naib* (deputy governor).¹⁴² During the governorship of Malik Kamaluddin Ahmad Khiram, another step well was constructed through the best efforts of Bamdev, son of Nathu, at Amber (Rajasthan).¹⁴³ While Malik Muzaffar, governor of Baroda had constructed a well along with a mosque at Karakhdi and the village official Moka Mehta, son of Kita Mehta, was appointed the trustee of the endowment.¹⁴⁴ An inscription records the construction of a *baoli* at Meerut district by Ashar Khan, a commander in the army of

¹³⁷ *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 17; *ARIE*, 1975-76, Appendix-D, no. 114.

¹³⁸ *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 3.

¹³⁹ Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 44; Ibn Battuta, *Travels* as quoted by Jamal Muhammad Siddiqui, *Aligarh Survey (From ancient times to 1803 A.D.)*, Delhi, 1981, p. 59; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁴⁰ Desai, *PMIR*, p. 44, no. 137; *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 38-40; Rajeev Bargoti, *op. cit.*, p. 137; It derives its name from the pillared cloisters which surrounded it like a fringe. See Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 70. Its location on the main slope of the tract, running from the west to east, between Bayana and the two hillocks to the north of Bayana, to store the rain water flowing in this slope. Rajeev Bargoti, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁴¹ Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XX, 1885, pp. 69-70; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 17.

¹⁴² Dated 725 A.H./1324-25 A.D. see, Mahdi Husain, 'Six Inscriptions', *ELAPS*, 1957-58, pp. 35-38; *ARIE*, 1975-76, Appendix-D, no. 114; *ARIE*, 1969-1970, Appendix-D, no. 66; *ARIE*, 1952-53, Appendix-C, no. 69.

¹⁴³ *ELAPS*, 1955-56, pp. 57-60; *ARIE*, 1955-56, Appendix-D, no. 135; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 23, no. 70.

¹⁴⁴ *ARIE*, 1963-64; Appendix-D, no. 85; *ARIE*, 1961-62, Appendix-C, no. 1311; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 158.

Likewise, Lodi noble also took sincere interest in constructing step-wells. A bilingual inscription at a *baoli* (known as Orav *baoli*) near Taleti Darwaza, located in the Vijaymandirgarh (Bayana, Rajasthan), refers to its construction by a Lodi noble, Khan-i-Khanan Farmuli during the reign of Sikandar Lodi.¹⁴⁶ The step-well consists of a shaft, elliptical in plan, to the west and a reservoir in three levels, together with steps to the east. The columns and brackets of the *baoli* are finely decorated and resemble the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri.¹⁴⁷ The step well built by Khwaja Sera of Sultan Sikandar Lodi in Delhi contains arcades in several stories.¹⁴⁸ Daulat Khan Lodi built *baolis* at Lahore and at Delhi. The Delhi *baoli* contains rooms built all around with chisel-dressed stones and lime-mortar.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Malik Abul Fath Muhammad entitled Falahul-Mulk constructed a *bain* at Chanderi¹⁵⁰ and Mutam Khan, governor of Bayana, constructed at Bayana¹⁵¹ during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. However, various step wells were constructed by the nobles in Gujrat, Daulatabad, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Delhi.¹⁵²

In 1211 A.D. Badruddin Sanqar, officer in-charge of the town, constructed a *hauz* at Palwal which provided water to both men and animals.¹⁵³ Epigraphic record highlights the construction of a tank by Masud son of Umar Khalji during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish in Bari Khatu (Nagaur, Rajasthan).¹⁵⁴ Little information available about the digging of the lakes and tanks indicates that the later Sultans and their

¹⁴⁵ Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 29; Rajeev Bargoti, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 138. Khan-i-Khanan Farmuli was the governor of Bayana. See Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 180.

¹⁴⁷ Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 7; *EIM*, 1909-10, no. 254; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 29; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 48, no. 50.

¹⁴⁸ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asar-ul-Sanadid*, Eng. tr., R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 44; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 272.

¹⁴⁹ Sir Syed, *Asar-ul-Sanadid*, p. 226; Eng. tr., p. 45; M. Abdullah Chaghtai, 'The Oldest Extant Muslim Architectural Relics at Lahore', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XII, 1964, p. 70; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹⁵⁰ *EIAPS*, 1955-56, pp. 122-123; *ARIE*, 1952-53, Appendix-C, no. 67.

¹⁵¹ It is constructed of red sandstone and consists of a circular well shaft to the south and a flight of steps to the north. On the ground level a vaulted chamber is built of the same stone as the entrance to the flight of steps. Between the steps and well shaft is colonnaded gallery in three stages, above which and at ground level stands a domed *chharti* with four columns. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁵² *EIAPS*, 1939-40, pp. 2-3; *EIAPS*, 1959, pp. 6-7; *ARIE*, 1958-59, Appendix-D, no. 43; *ARIE*, 1958-59, Appendix-D, no. 60; *ARIE*, 1964-65, Appendix-D, no. 161; *ARIE*, 1965-67, Appendix-D, no. 160; *ARIE*, 1970-71, Appendix-D, no. 28; *ARIE*, 1978-79, Appendix-C, no. 127; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 25, no. 75.

¹⁵³ *EIM*, 1911-12, pp. 1-3; Nizami, *Royalty*, p. 139; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 260.

¹⁵⁴ *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 6-7; *ARIE*, 1958-59, Appendix-D, no. 170; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 28, no. 86; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 261.

nobles maintained the traditions set up by their predecessors. As the Tughlaq Sultans were engaged in constructing lakes and tanks in Delhi and Daulatabad, the *muqtas* (governors) seems to have equally been participated in the constructional works of public utility in their respective provinces. The inscription found at Bari Khatu refers that the *muqta* Malik Firoz bin Muhammad had ordered to build a fairly large lake named Firoz-Sagar to Tajuddin Daulat wad-din, Khalaful-Mulk.¹⁵⁵ Qutlugh Khan constructed a water reservoir which was called *Hauz-i-Qutlugh Khani* at Daulatabad which was later completed by his brother.¹⁵⁶ Another *hauz* was ordered to be constructed by Malik Maruf, Saiyyid-ul-Hujjab (chief of chamberlains) under Firoz Shah Tughlaq.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, the nobles under the Lodi Sultans built lakes and tanks at different places.¹⁵⁸

Important development took place with the construction of canals during the Delhi Sultanate. Not only the Sultans but their nobles also took interest in it. Big as well as small canals were led off from the rivers for irrigation purpose. Earliest reference of the construction of a large and deep artificial canal comes from Amir Khusrau. He mentions that Ghazi Malik (governor of Dipalpur) constructed a canal which was cut from the river Ravi. It irrigated the areas between the rivers Ravi and Jhelum.¹⁵⁹ He seemed to have constructed few more canals in the territories of Multan and Dipalpur.¹⁶⁰ A Badaon inscription records the construction of a canal by Khwaja Jahan-ush-Sharq, the founder of Jaunpur dynasty and leading Tughlaqid noble, in 1395 A.D.¹⁶¹ Like Firoz Shah, some of his nobles also seems to have improved water resources in their *iqtas*. His *wazir* Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul took measures to create conditions favourable for socio-economic growth in his *iqta* through the construction

¹⁵⁵ *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 8-10; *ARIE*, 1962-63, Appendix-D, no. 194; Desai, *PMIR*, p. 30, no. 92; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 263. During the Tughlaq period lakes and tanks were constructed in Biharsharif (Bihar), Garhmukteshwar (Ghaziabad district, U.P.), Manglore (Saharanpur district, U.P.) and Bari Khatu (Nagaur district, Rajasthan). See the details Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian*, p. 31; Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 136; *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 136.

¹⁵⁶ Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 263-264.

¹⁵⁷ *EIAPS*, 1959, pp. 4-6; *EIAPS*, 1960, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 266.

¹⁵⁹ Amir Khusrau, *Tughlaqnama*, p. 63; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 272.

¹⁶⁰ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 442; Amir Khusrau, *Tughlaqnama*, pp. 136-137; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, 649; Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter no. 114, pp. 204-205; Abha Rani, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 272-273.

¹⁶¹ Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 23; For Khwaja Jahan Malik Sarwar see, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 338; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 146; Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh*, Hindi tr., p. 227; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 124-125.

of a number of canals, *sarais* (inns) and *bazaars*.¹⁶²

It is recorded that Khizr Khan (son of Alauddin Khalji), governor of Chittor, (named Khizrabad) built a very strong ten-arched bridge on the river Gambhiri.¹⁶³ However, an important Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Sikandar Lodi records the construction of a bridge (*setu*) by a Muslim official of Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 1491 A.D. out of his virtuously-earned treasures.¹⁶⁴

To conclude, the nobles followed the Sultans of Delhi and patronized the building construction. Due to their patronage, several Jami Mosques, Mosques, *idgahs*, tombs, *khanqahs*, as well as other secular buildings like wells, step-wells, Inns, *baolis*, canals and tanks were constructed for the use of general public. This is also indicative of the fact that the nobles of Delhi Sultans wanted to earn the goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Muslims alike, by constructing both the religious and secular structures and the structures for the welfare and general benefit of the common people in particular. Besides, they appear to have taken an interest in the preservation of buildings and places of historical significance. It is indicated by their interest in repairing and restoration of the old buildings by them.¹⁶⁵

The buildings constructed by the nobles were not merely utilitarian but symbolically conveyed the valour and grandeur of the ruling classes. However, it was, above all, for the benefit of the masses since the construction also provided employment to the marginalized people. The building construction was, indeed, a socio-cultural activity and the resources expended on the construction of buildings brought back the noble's prestige, honour and legitimacy. Thus, the nobles were not only the builders of religious and secular edifices but were supervisors of public welfare works.

¹⁶² Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*, p. 150; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 275.

¹⁶³ Cf. G. H. Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, Vol. I, Jodhpur, 2006, p. 193; Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁴ The officer is named as Vudhana which may be read as Budhana and seems to have been the minister of a Gadana, who was styled as the chief of the Khans. This Gadana seems to have been a prominent noble of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Vasudeva S. Asgrawala, 'A Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi', *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. IX, July 1936, Part II, pp. 64-66; Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal and Radha Kumud Mukherjee (eds.), *Descriptive List of Coins and Inscriptions Compiled by the United Provinces Historical Society*, Allahabad, 1936, p. 100; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁵ *EIAPS*, 1953-54, pp. 4-5; *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 26-27; M. Abdullah Chaghtai, 'The Oldest Extant Muslim Architectural Relics at Lahore', *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XII, 1964, p. 70; Siddiqui, *Composite Culture*, p. 90.

Conclusion

Delhi Sultanate under Sultan Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Firoz Shah Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi was essentially a period of expansion, consolidation and integration. Thus, cultural efflorescence was expected in such stable and positive circumstances. Personal interest of the Sultans in socio-cultural matters acted as the contributory factor. The period witnessed the influx of talented persons from the neighbouring lands (Central Asia, Iran and Iraq) into the Delhi court. These foreigners have been further incorporated into the provincial courts of the governors and *muqtis*.

The sources related to the Sultanate period referred to the high salaries given to the nobles along with the assigned revenue from the *iqtas*. Their salaries were fixed thousands of gold *tanka*hs. Besides salaries and assignments, gifts and rewards were among the secondary sources of income which made them much wealthy. They further accumulated wealth through corrupt practices and bribe. Barani, Amir Khusrau and Afif condemn some of the prominent nobles of the Delhi Sultans for their corrupt practices. As a result of these evil practices they had accumulated great wealth which was estimated lakhs of gold *tanka*hs. Thus the sources indicate that the nobles amassed huge wealth through their salaries, assignments, awards as well as bribe and corruption.

Direct and indirect references in the sources indicate the manners and etiquettes of the nobility of the period under review. These sources gave us a very graphic account of the royal court, court ceremonies, royal processions and finally the presence of the nobles with some of the prescribed etiquettes of the period. The court etiquettes and rituals were elaborate and provided considerable symbolic capital to the Sultans and the nobility. At the same time, they reinforced hierarchical relations between the nobility and the ruling class.

The feasts, festivals and ceremonies appeared to be the important features of the socio-cultural life of the nobles of Delhi Sultans. It was the restive feature of the court culture of the period. Huge amount was lavishly spent. Numerous kinds of rich dishes and drinks were served in a prescribed manner according to the ranks and positions of the invited guests. At the same time, they also served to strengthen the bonds between the rulers and the ruling aristocracy, bringing them together through display and

entertainment. However, the rituals and ceremonies that were followed on these occasions legitimated imperial authority and reinforced the hierarchies in the court culture.

Among the games, hunting was the most popular game as well as great source of recreation besides other games like chess, *nard*, *qammarbazi*, *chaugan* (polo) and other less important outdoor and indoor games. Sultans were fond of hunting thus as a result of their interest in the game, a separate hunting department was established and high ranking nobles were included on hunting expeditions. Nobles and officials accompanied Sultans in hunting expeditions with all their necessary requirements, thus the hunting event was full of excitement and fun. Besides hunting, music was a great source of recreation for the nobles. The compilation of two works on Indian music, *Ghuniyat-ul-munya* and *Lahjat-i-Sikandarshahi* by the prominent Tughlaqid and Lodi nobles verified the fact. To ease the strain of hard work, they found relaxation in listening music. Music, musicians, singers, convivial and drinking parties, garden parties, *sama* and *qawwali*, story-tellers, dancers, jesters acrobats, jugglers and other entertainers were found to be the sources of recreation for the nobility under the Delhi Sultans.

As far as the household and domestic life of the nobles is concerned, they lived in palatial houses, wore rich silken and brocaded dresses, maintained large kitchens. In their kitchen establishments valets, cooks, running footmen, water-bearer, sherbet-dispensers, betel-givers, arm-bearers, spear-bearers, umbrella-bearers, laver-carriers, chamberlains and heralds were the domestic functionaries (*hashia*). Expert cooks were also patronized by the nobles. Several kinds of rich dishes, in rich proteins, were served to them in the vessels of golden, silver, glass, brass and even in chinaware.

Polygamy was prevalent practice. Having two wives was common among the nobles of Delhi Sultans. The matrimonial alliance took place among the nobles. To enhance their social position, the below ranked nobles make matrimonial relations with illustrious nobles as well as with the royal family. Also sometimes they established matrimonial relations with the members of royal family. Matrimonial relations between the royal family and the nobles of high repute enhanced the social status of the nobles among the ruling class. It is further significant to note that Sultan Alauddin Khalji forbid the nobles to form any matrimonial alliances without the royal consent considering that the close connections formed among the nobles might be

dangerous for the Sultanate because their numerous intermarriages and the patronage in the hands of few, gave them degree of power which enable them by coalition to rebel against the royal authority. The practice of divorce (*talaq*) and dowry were prevalent in the elite society, thus references show that the nobles divorced their wives though in intoxicated or excited state of mind.

The *harem* and slaves of the nobles have been the significant features of noble's household. They maintained large *harem* and slaves. Large numbers of slave girls were maintained by them. They own palanquins for the short distance journeys while for the long distance journeys they used horses, camels and elephants. Boats were also used by them for their journeys via rivers. *Dula* was the common means of medium for the transportation. The *kahars* (palanquin-bearers) were engaged by them to carry them from place to place. They used covered palanquins for their slave girls and *dula* covered with silk curtains for *harem* ladies.

Given the immense resources that were accessible to the nobles, there was a lot of investment of resources on ostentation and display. Generosity was considered an important social ethic, and the ethic of generosity was played out in court culture through gift-exchanges, elaborate feasts and festivities. Charitable activities of the nobles are recorded in both the primary and secondary sources. Zia Barani and Mushtaqi particularly offer detailed information in this regard. These historians and others record the distribution of food, garments, gold and silver *tankahs* and other necessities of life provided by the nobles to the poor and destitute. They even helped in the marriages of the poor girls by providing amount, cloth, beddings in the form of dowry from their own establishments and fixed the allowances for the widows.

In short, the main motivating factor behind this philanthropy and generosity of the nobles was not only their concern and pious attitude towards the poor and destitute but the element of display and competition existing in their society. As they loved to display pomp, power and magnificence most of the times they were under debt because of lavish expenditure on their establishments. However, by generous acts of charity and benevolence they contributed largely in the upliftment of life and culture of the people. Further, their generosity towards the common people and amount spent on public welfare works clearly indicates the wealth and consumption levels of the nobles. So much so that the noble's lavish generosity sometimes evoked Sultans criticism too. Meanwhile, evidences indicate the lowest vices in contrast with

the highest virtues of the nobles. The practices of bribery, corruption and wine drinking existed in the elite society.

Not only the Delhi Sultans patronized literature and building construction, but their nobility was also prominent in this regard. The patronage to literature and architecture was another aspect of the court life of the nobility. Their interest and patronage to literary and constructional activities highlight the fact that talented persons from different regions found entry to the royal court and in their own establishments. Result was that the nobles acted as a bridge between the royal court of the Delhi Sultans and the distant regions in promoting cultural progress which can be sustained by the few examples of the nobles like Malik Bahauddin Tughril, Malik Tatar Khan and Mian Bhua and others.

Remarkably rich literary and intellectual activity became a distinct feature of the cultural life of the Sultanate nobility. By reviewing the existing literature and other sources, it appears that the literature on almost all the subjects and sciences was composed and patronized by the nobles. As far as the traditional form of knowledge is concerned, Amir Khusrau, though not a noble in strict sense, and few other nobles reckoned among the finest exponents of Persian prose and poetry. Even the noble like Mian Bhua, who has been praised by Mushtaqi, showed his interest in music and medicine, while other nobles showed his interest in astrolabes. Contemporary chronicles highlight the literary and cultural interests of the nobles and their patronage to poets, scholars and musicians. However, in addition to the royal imperial court of the Delhi Sultans, the households of nobles have been served as the major centers of cultural activity. As a result, the poets and scholars compiled works on different subjects like history, Indian tales, *masnavis*, *qasidas*, *farhang* literature, *insha*, *fiqh*, *tafsir*, *fatawa*, *tibb*, astronomy and astrology, mathematics, gemology, mining and metallurgy, architecture, numismatics and music. The nobles had their own libraries and collection of books. Although it is not ascertain that any great educational institution established or patronized by any of the nobles, but *madrasas* have been established by them in their respective regions.

The Sultanate period witnessed extensive constructional activity, both under the Sultans and their nobles. Following the footsteps of the Sultans, nobles constructed a large number of buildings, both religious and secular in nature, like Jami mosques, mosques, *idgahs*, *sarai* (inns), wells, *baolis* (step-wells), tanks, *khanqahs*, canals and

even in some cases cities were also founded by them. The inscriptions engraved on the buildings made it easy to identify the buildings constructed by the nobles. These religious and secular structures, the *sarai* and *khanqahs*, were meant to provide comfort to the travellers and sufis. Likewise, the construction of the wells, step-wells, canals, tanks and other water resources highlight their concern for the public welfare. Besides, it appears that these structures were perceived as enduring memorials for those nobles and officials who built them and thus perpetuated their memory.

As chief architect of the Sultanate period, the names of Malik Ahmad bin Ayaz (Chief Architect), Malik Ghazi Shahna (*naib* of *Mir Imarat*) and Zahir-ul-Juyush are significant. The epigraphs of the period record a long list of nobles and officials who constructed several buildings, sometimes out of their own pockets. Khan-i-Jahan *wazir* and his son were great builders of that time. They constructed many mosques at Delhi which were much significant in their plans and dimensions. The tomb build by him was similarly significant because it was the first octagonal tomb built at Delhi. It would be of interest to take a look at the continuation of constructional activities by the nobles right from the Mamluks to the Lodis.

However, the nobility under the Delhi Sultans played a decisive role in enriching the socio-cultural life of the Sultanate period. Their social life was modeled on their Persian and Turkish counterparts with the sports like chess, polo and hunting as the chief amusements which were the prerogatives of the elite society of the Delhi Sultanate. Willingly adoption of Indian headgear, the practice of chewing *pan*, ceremonies related to marriage and death, transformation of Indian music, its forms and musical instruments into their society not only showed Indian influence but also reflect the local atmosphere in the elite society.

In short, the nobles as administrators and aristocrats not only involved in their allotted administrative responsibilities in their specified regions rather they had enjoyed their lively social and cultural life in Indian and Perso-Islamic perspectives. However, the nobles as governors and *muqtis* and other high ranked posts were deputed in the far-flung regions of the Sultanate. In their respective assignments, they were exposed to their regional people and imbibed their local culture and customs and, in turn, they also infused in them their Perso-Islamic culture. Thus, the assimilation of two cultures to which we may also termed the composite culture are evident in their marriages, feasts and festivals, living and food habits, games and

entertainments etc. However, the nobles of the Sultanate period not only acted as 'connector' between the rulers and the ruled rather as 'connector' of two cultures being a patronisers of art and literature, music and paintings as well as builders of religious and secular edifices and as supervisors of public welfare works and, above all, as 'innovators' in the field of science, technology and crafts.

To conclude, the study has revealed the diversity in the socio-cultural life of the Sultanate nobility. It has studied the centralization of resources in the hands of the nobility. The huge income of the nobility created a court culture marked by ostentation and display. The extravagant lifestyle of the nobility served as the backdrop to elaborate ceremonies, rituals and social practices which marked the cultural life under the Sultanate nobility.